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The First Printing in Hawaii

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ONE hundred and fifty-four days out from Boston, the brig *Thaddeus* dropped anchor off the coast of Hawaii on March 30, 1820, carrying passengers of a kind never before seen in the islands. For some forty years ships from the outer world had occasionally touched there, engaged either in exploration or in trade, and white men from their crews had gone ashore. All of these landed as transients, though a very few of them, for one reason or another, remained permanently. Their presence made no fundamental change in the ancient civilization and their influence was by no means wholly beneficial. The newcomers on the *Thaddeus* came with purely philanthropic purposes and with the expectation of making Hawaii their home for many years at least, and some did remain for life. They were missionaries despatched by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, an organization chiefly Congregational and Presbyterian. "The Boston missionaries arrived in the nick of time," says Samuel E. Morison, "partially to offset the demoralization introduced by Boston traders and Nantucket whalers."

As missionaries their primary purpose, of course, was the evan-

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gelization of the natives, but if these were to stand firm as a Christian people, facing the rest of the world as equals, it was necessary that they should be brought fully into the orbit of European-American civilization. This expedition had not been launched on a hasty impulse, but only after long and thoughtful study by the Board, and its instructions declared: "You are to aim at nothing short of covering the islands with fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings, and schools and churches; of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization." And they were exhorted "to obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible with skill to read it." So the mission included two clergymen (as would be expected), but also two teachers, one doctor, one farmer *and one printer*. With the families and followers of these, the mission party numbered twenty-two in all, men, women and children. It was a young people's party, only one of the seven even approaching middle age. All were married, for this was required by the Board. One of the marriages was of long standing, but the others were recently solemnized, one of the clergymen, indeed, thus qualifying himself for the expedition only six days before the *Thaddeus* sailed.

Youngest of all was Elisha Loomis, the printer, twenty years old and four weeks married. Born on a farm in the Finger Lakes district of New York, he had learned his trade as apprentice to a printer at Canandaigua, some ten miles from his birthplace. Mr. Bemis, his master, was itinerant bookseller as well as printer, and on his shelves young Loomis found and read the epoch-making *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*. From this little book by a Polynesian waif, who died in youth, sprang the modern civilization of the Hawaiian islands. Loomis was one of those whom this book moved to offer himself to the service, and was one of those who remained when the winnowing and screening of volunteers was finished. He was directed to find "a good printing press at reasonable cost" and to bring "all necessities for a printing estab-

lishment." A friend of the mission had contributed \$125 for the purchase of a press. Whether this amount sufficed, we do not know. The press which Loomis bought was "a second-hand Ramage, built before 1800, with frame of Honduras mahogany and bed and platen of iron." Old as it was, it served the mission faithfully for years.

After considerable negotiation the Hawaiian government allowed the mission to land on a purely temporary permit, but required a division of the party, one portion to remain at Kailua on the "Big Island," where the king was then residing, and the other to proceed to Honolulu on the island of Oahu. This was not yet the national capital, for the court and government moved about from place to place according to the king's direction, but its good harbor had already made Honolulu the commercial center and it was growing rapidly. The earliest mission party was supplemented by several "reinforcements," as they were called, until 1848, when the American Board decided that the Hawaiian church was ready for independence, and control was transferred by successive steps to the local authorities.

Arrived in Honolulu, the Ramage press went into storage in a warehouse, and Loomis, for nearly two years, was employed as a teacher and indeed for any odd jobs that needed doing. For it is impossible to have a printed language until there is a written one. The king and some of the great chiefs had foreign secretaries who communicated with traders and others in their respective written languages, but Hawaiian had not yet been put down on paper. When his written name was shown to the king, he declared that it did not look like him at all. As for the spoken language, the missionaries had studied it assiduously with the Hawaiians on shipboard during the long voyage and they could understand and make themselves understood after a fashion when they landed. They still had to devise symbols to represent the sounds that they heard. A laborious task, certainly, and yet it appears a fairly simple one. Merely select a letter or group of letters to

represent each sound and proceed to compile your dictionary. But they were dealing with a Polynesian language and met with an unexpected difficulty. The Polynesian ear is strangely insensitive to consonantal sounds. The missionaries heard one man speak of *taro*, uttering the word quite clearly, and another answered equally clearly about *kalo*, each of them perfectly unconscious that they were not saying the same thing. Which word should be written down? Or both?

Centuries ago, the Polynesian people began to move down from southeastern Asia into the islands of the Pacific. As they slowly progressed, groups frayed off from the mass and made homes for themselves at one side of the main track. Recent scholarly opinion is that it was one of these groups that first found its way to the Hawaiian islands. A vague guess puts the date at about 450 A.D. The main Polynesian body moved onward until Tahiti and the neighboring islands were reached, and there it found its final home and center. But not all or even the larger part remained there. Crowded out because of lack of subsistence or launching out in a mere spirit of adventure, these "Vikings of the Sunrise" spread north and south and east and west, establishing new colonies thousands of miles from the center of dispersion. European ships of this period, except those of the Northmen, hugged the shore closely, venturing out of sight of land only when absolutely necessary, and then for the shortest stretch possible. The Polynesians took the sea for weeks at a time, aiming not at a great land mass which they were sure to strike somewhere if they kept on going, but at islands which are only dots on the present map. A few miles of error, one way or the other, and they were lost on the broad Pacific. We cannot guess how many perished. Yet their observation of the stars was so accurate that a successful voyage might be repeated over and over again. As for their shipping, one gets a rather false impression from reading of "canoes." Technically the word is correct, for they were dug-outs from long tree trunks. But the freeboard was raised by build-

ing up the dugout with planks, two hulls were coupled together, and a deck was laid between. A mast was rigged; sometimes two or three. From sixty to eighty feet was an ordinary length, and one hundred or more was not unknown. Waves broke over except in very smooth weather and bailing was constant. A storm might break the two canoes apart, but while they held together, the ship was almost uncapsizable. Dried vegetables and dried fish were put on board and fresh fish were frequently caught. Some fresh water was carried in gourds, and always a large stock of cocoanuts served for both meat and drink. Crews were abstemious both by necessity and by training. So the population was spread through the Pacific islands.

At some time in the eleventh or twelfth century such pioneers reached Hawaii and found it good. For two hundred years thereafter the great double canoes went back and forth, bringing more colonists, moving under sail when the wind was fair, paddling when the wind failed. If all went well, they reached their destination in two weeks or a little more. If things went badly, they died of hunger or thirst or they drowned. Those who reached their new home brought their household goods, their tools, cultivated plants not found in Hawaii, and dogs and pigs and fowls. Some of the earlier settlers were absorbed in the new population of their own race and the rest were crowded off to leeward and vanished into space. There is no tradition of any human habitation on Nihoa and Necker, rocky islets far to the west, but there are ruins of unmistakably Polynesian origin, relics of these hapless Menehunes. They were probably of quality inferior to the men of the new migration, who were drawn from the best of the parent stock. These may be compared to the Vikings of the Atlantic who moved from Norway to settle Iceland: "Such a wholesale colonization of picked men," said John Fiske, "as had not been seen since ancient Greek times, and was not to be seen again until Winthrop sailed into Massachusetts Bay." From Pili the high chief was descended Kamehameha the Great, and descend-

ants of the priest Paoa were hereditary high priests down to Hewahewa, the last of them all, who took the lead in the destruction of his religion and his office. Twelve hundred years earlier, an Anglo-Saxon high priest named Coifi had been the first to cast a spear into his pagan temple and to order the idols to be burned.

The stream of migration from Tahiti to Hawaii dwindled and died out, and for five hundred years the latter remained wholly cut off from the rest of the world. During that time its culture developed in its own way, unaffected by outside influences. This includes its language. The several Polynesian languages are essentially the same, varying little in grammar and vocabulary. A person who speaks one of them can manage another for ordinary purposes after a few weeks or even days. This refers, of course, to everyday communication. The cultivated language must be acquired slowly. The chief difference is in pronunciation. Some sounds in what may be called basic Polynesian disappear in each language or are converted into something else. *H* may become *k* or *w* or *s* or be dropped entirely, *g* or *ng* may intrude, *f* may turn into *wh* and so on *ad infinitum*. Hawaiian has lost the basic *k*. The missing letter is represented by a sharp break between the vowel sounds before and after. The Hawaiki which was the present or past homeland of all Polynesians is Hawaii here. Yet nearly one-fifth of the words in its dictionary begin with *k*. By substituting a *k* of its own for the basic *t*, Hawaiian more than made good the loss, and *k* is also used for almost all the consonant sounds in words or names borrowed from foreign languages if Hawaiian has no exact equivalent. *School* is *kula*, *dollar* is *kala*, *cent* is *keneka*, *John* is *Keoni*.

By the way, you should not be too much afraid of Hawaiian names. They are terrifying to look upon, but if you keep your presence of mind and approach them boldly, you will find them harmless. Kekuanaoa and Kalanikupule and Kaumualii appear tame at close quarters. I will admit that there are some tough cases.

For the philological studies of the missionaries and for the operations of the press there is a wealth of source material. Long and detailed reports of the business of the mission were sent to the Board in Boston as often as they could be dispatched. Ship sailings were rare and unpredictable, and it was a wise precaution to write up records at frequent intervals, so that nothing but a closing paragraph was needed when opportunity arose. The original reports are preserved in Boston. Copies are in the library of the Mission Children's Society in Honolulu, which shares a building with the Hawaiian Historical Society. The archives building is almost across the street, so that nearly all the source material on the national history may be found, in original or copy, within a circle of small radius. Supplementing the official reports are the voluminous diaries which were kept by members of the mission in accordance with the Board's requirements and by almost all mission children by parental orders. Naturally the children's diaries do not concern us here but there is much of value in them for some purposes.

In establishing Hawaiian orthography there was not much difficulty about the vowels. As there had been no considerable foreign relations except with Americans and British, place names had been spelled, when they had to be used at all, in an effort to represent English pronunciation. But while an English-speaking tongue could manage the *ee*'s and *oo*'s and *ah*'s and such like, the English eye found them barbaric in appearance, and they gave no clue whatever to foreigners speaking other languages. So there was little argument about adopting the vowel sounds in use in most continental languages. It was the consonants that made trouble.

The problem of the missionary linguists was to determine which of the "interchangeable" consonants represented the standard pronunciation. They had to rely on their own prolonged observation, for the natives could give no help. Several natives, when asked one by one, said that a certain word was pronounced

dido. Again, they all agreed that it was *dilo*. So also with *diro*, *lido*, *lilo*, *liro*, *rido*, *rilo* and *riro*. One can imagine their perplexity at being asked the same question, as they understood it, nine times. One missionary remarks that the sound of *k* and *t* is "nearly as distinct in native articulation as it is with us, but . . . no native knows the difference in the two sounds." The name Kealakekua represents one definite place, but being full of interchangeable letters it can be spelled in sixteen different ways. This conforms to the formula which some mathematician computed, that a word may be written "as many different ways as the square of the whole numbers of interchangeable letters in the word."

The study could not go on indefinitely. For "the diffusion of knowledge among men" something must be published and first of all would naturally come the most elementary of text books—a spelling book. Copy was accordingly prepared, using a purely tentative alphabet with a letter for every sound that anyone could detect in spoken Hawaiian. Five English letters were thus omitted completely and four others were listed as used only in spelling foreign words. There remained five vowels and twelve consonants. The press was now removed from storage and installed in one of the grass huts which formed the missionary settlement, on a road which became the present King Street. A building of its own, twenty-eight by seventeen feet, was erected next year and still stands. It was constructed of coral rock quarried nearby and roofed with tiles from Canton. Loomis began setting the type, but apparently left part for the final ceremony. This took place on January 7, 1822. The missionaries were well aware that it was a historic occasion. Representatives of the gentry, both native and foreign, were present and watched curiously the setting of the type and the application of the ink. The spelling primer was the first *book* to be printed, but the first piece of printing was a broadside, six by four inches, headed *Lesson I* and containing text which later appeared on the second and third pages of the completed book.

When all was ready, Loomis turned to the most distinguished chief present and asked him to strike off the first sheet. This was Keeaumoku, governor of the island of Maui, commonly called Governor Cox by foreigners, for the sake of simplicity. His father, who bore the same name, was one of the chiefs who had banded together in support of Kamehameha the Great and stood by him until he ruled the united island kingdom. Sister of Governor Cox was Kaahumanu, widow of the conqueror, who now governed the kingdom in the name of her stepson, Kamehameha II. A queen as great in soul as she was in body, and this is praise indeed. The second sheet was struck off by Loomis himself, and the third by James Hunnewell, whose name is identified in many ways with early Hawaiian history. He first came to the islands as a sailor in 1817 and was second officer of the *Thaddeus* on the missionary voyage. Each time he remained in the islands for a while as business agent for his owners. In 1826 he was master of the little forty-nine foot, thirty-nine ton schooner, *Missionary Packet*, with which he made what he claimed to be the longest passage on record between New England and Hawaii, nine months and one day. This proud distinction has also been claimed for the ship on which William Little Lee, future chief justice of the kingdom, arrived in 1846. The time was two hundred and thirty-one days. In fairness it should be mentioned that the *Missionary Packet* was so leaky and unseaworthy that Hunnewell was obliged repeatedly to stop for repairs, so the records are not comparable. There is glory enough for all. The quickest passage that I have noted was that of the bark *Mary Frazier*, which brought the "seventh reinforcement" in 1837, "in the incredibly short time of one hundred and sixteen days." After the *Missionary Packet* voyage, Hunnewell set up for himself a business which grew into the present C. Brewer & Company, one of the corporations which it is fashionable to call the Big Five.

These three are the only recorded copies of the first printing, though it would seem likely that others were made and handed

around to the spectators. The broadside was printed only as a demonstration. There was another small trial run a few days later, when the king was present, and "Brother Loomis printed his name in large elegant capitals in two forms, RIHORIHO and LIHOLIHO." The king preferred the former spelling. It would seem that he had become indifferent as to whether it looked like him or not. (Liholiho—however spelled—was the personal name of Kamehameha II. The kings of Hawaii generally had such names as well as those under which they reigned. Kamehameha IV and V were Alexander and Lot, Lunalilo was William, Kalakaua was David.)

Loomis and his native helpers now proceeded to set up and print the spelling book, five hundred copies of a sixteen-page pamphlet. The chiefs were considerably interested, but many of them were dubious about making a general distribution. Reading might be useful for themselves, but they feared that it would not be well for the common people to spend their time over books instead of in useful field work. The whole ancient civilization rested on the grinding labor of the commoners for the benefit of their feudal lords. The American missionaries naturally had a different point of view, and to this the chiefs finally reconciled themselves. Once the chiefs had given their approval, the whole population, old and young, men and women, went to school with enthusiasm. New editions of the primer were called for repeatedly, and the missionaries could not get enough paper from back home to supply the demand for books. A chief contributed a large quantity of cartridge paper which he had obtained from some source not mentioned. The printers were rather pleased with its durable quality. An unsuccessful attempt was made to print on the native bark cloth. Green and yellow papers, when they could be had, were very popular for covers. Printing was handicapped not only by lack of paper but also by lack of suitable type. There was a chronic shortage of *k*'s. An appeal was made for five hundred more of them to supplement one font received. Another was

reported to have only enough *k*'s and *a*'s for five or six pages, and so it was used exclusively for printing in English.

The provisional alphabet of the first spelling book continued in use for more than three years, but study to establish a permanent one continued. By October, 1825, the missionaries were nearly enough in agreement to publish a spelling book with only seven regular consonants, which were printed in large type. The supplementary list of letters to be used in foreign words carried all our English consonants except *c*, *f*, *q*, *x* and *y*. Of these, *c*, *q*, and *x* had not been listed in the first book, *f* and *y* were now dropped, *z* was added, for a considerable part of the Bible had now been translated and this letter was wanted for Hebrew names. Later they were frankly turned into Hawaiian and the always reliable *k* did the work of *z*. (As indicating the scholarship represented in the mission, it is worth noting that the Hawaiian version of the New Testament was constructed by comparison of the Greek, Latin, English and Tahitian texts.)

The study had brought out that there were some local variations in pronunciation which could be detected by the American though not the native ear. The sounds were fairly uniform among the windward islands, but on Kauai, the most westward of the large islands—"last, loneliest, loveliest, exquisite, apart"—there was some approximation to those of Tahiti, the ancestral homeland. The not very strong opinion of the missionaries on Kauai was reinforced by that of Mr. Ellis, an English clergyman who had transferred from Tahiti to Hawaii and preferred the *r*, *t* and *v* of the former to the *l*, *k* and *w* of the latter. He had but small support, however. For example, Mr. Thurston wrote from his station at Kailua: "Though the *v* may be used by some few natives whose upper lips are too short, and whose fore teeth are very prominent, yet I question whether the proper sound of the *v* is found in the language."

To settle the questions finally, a committee of three was appointed: Hiram Bingham, Charles S. Stewart and Levi Chamber-

lain. A preliminary report was presented on February 14, 1826, and the fate of the various possible letters was then settled by majority vote among the nine men interested. The election returns were published on July 14, 1826. *K*, *p* and *w* were retained and *b*, *d* and *v* stricken out by unanimous vote; *l* was retained and *r* and *t* were dropped by divided but nearly unanimous opinion. The Hawaiian alphabet was thus permanently established. The letters were arranged, not as in English, but with the five vowels first and the seven consonants following: AEIOUHKLMNPW.

This is not a general history of early printing in Hawaii but of its beginnings only. The adoption of the alphabet marks the end of an era. But it seems appropriate to say something about the subsequent careers of two of the leading characters: the printer and the press.

Loomis continued in charge of printing for nearly five years, though suffering severely in health toward the latter part of his service. The Hawaiian climate may appeal to the tourist as perfect, and persons born in the islands thrive on it, but most mainlanders find it debilitating sooner or later. No doubt Loomis was always of a delicate constitution and the time came when he was totally unable to carry on his work. The mission recognized that it was imperative for him to return to a colder climate, and his reluctance to leaving his post was overcome by directing him to supervise certain printing which had been assigned to houses in Rochester and Utica. The demand for school books and hymnals had outrun the extreme capacity of the mission press. Loomis left Honolulu in January, 1827, fully determined to return. For three years he was employed by a religious journal in Rochester, and then once more turned to missionary work among the aborigines, this time at Mackinac Island, where he taught a school for Ojibway children and also compiled a spelling book. His steadily failing health brought him back to his birthplace at Rushville, N. Y., where he taught as long as he was able and then subsisted on such allowance as the mission board could make him until his

death in 1836. His wife survived him by twenty-six years. They had five children. A descendant, Albertine Loomis, has written one of the best accounts of the work and tribulations of the first missionaries that I have ever seen. It is based on the journals of her great-grandparents, supplemented by extensive research in both Hawaiian and mainland collections.

As to the historic press, it will be remembered that it was at least twenty years old when it arrived in Hawaii. We do not know how much work it had done before that time. It was heavily worked from the day that printing began in Honolulu, and carried the burden alone for over six years. As early as 1825 it was showing signs of serious weakening, and even before Loomis left Honolulu he wrote: "We know not how soon it may become worthless." Yet it continued to do duty unassisted until the middle of 1828, when another second-hand Ramage arrived from Boston, "of small size and insufficient power, but nevertheless much superior to the old one." Thereafter the two presses were both operated. In 1832 "the one which was first sent is of little use, except as a proof press, and the other is liable to fail us," but an additional one arrived that year. As to type suitable to the Hawaiian language, Loomis had worked out a proper apportionment of letters before his departure and this difficulty seems to have been solved.

What became of the original press? No mention of it has been found in missionary letters later than 1832. The old presses, like old soldiers, just faded away. But though its physical life may have ended long since, its mythical life goes marching on. In the museum of the Oregon Historical Society in Portland there stands a printing press which until recently bore a placard, and perhaps still does, stating (correctly) that it was the first press in the Oregon country and (incorrectly) that it was the original Hawaiian mission press. It did come to Oregon from Hawaii and it had belonged to the mission there, so the mistake is understandable. Missionaries in the Oregon country, like those in

Hawaii, felt the need of printing religious tracts in the native language. The junior mission applied to the senior, suggesting that it send a man to Honolulu for instruction in printing. Instead of this, the latter sent Mr. Edwin O. Hall, an experienced printer who had been with the mission since 1836, to spend a year in Oregon. He took with him a press, type and paper as a donation. The press was "a small hand press presented to this mission but not in use," elsewhere described as "a small hand card press, which was a donation to the mission, and came out with us in the *Hellespont*" [in 1836]. It does not appear whether or not it was a new one. It cannot have been as old as the original press was on its arrival, for this model was not patented until 1818. Mr. Hall proceeded to Vancouver on a Hudson's Bay Company ship, thence by bateau and pack transportation far inland to a station on the Clearwater River, now in the state of Idaho. In May, 1839, he produced a twenty-page primer for Indian children, the first book to be printed in the Pacific northwest. He printed another book during his stay in Oregon and left the operating force sufficiently trained.

It will be noticed that Mr. Hall was a printer by trade, attached to the mission. Loomis had been the only white man with the mission press in his time, but others besides Mr. Hall entered its employment after Loomis' departure. From the beginning some native helpers had been recruited. One of the first, John Ii, rose to high distinction. He became one of the original members of the House of Nobles when this was created in 1840 by the first constitution. The House was a legislative body, not a peerage, but it was a good many years before anyone not of chiefly rank was appointed a noble, and the first such was the husband of a royal princess. Ii was appointed a judge of the "Superior Court of Law and Equity" in 1848, and became a justice of the Supreme Court when the constitution of 1852 changed this designation. He continued to sit in the legislature, for judges were not at that time ineligible. The chief justice himself was a member of the House of Representatives for a term and served as speaker.

It is now one hundred and thirty years since the "committee of health on the state of the Hawaiian language," as it playfully called itself, submitted its final report. Its findings have stood the test of time. Probably there is no existing language in which the actual current pronunciation conforms more closely to the theoretical. It is sometimes sounded in slovenly fashion, of course, more often by mainlanders whose use is practically restricted to a few place names, than by islanders. Now and then, also, one hears from mainlanders—tourists or military—pronunciations which they fondly imagine to be truly native, but which are seldom or never heard from islanders' lips. Fortunately Hawaiian has not sunk to a mere vulgar dialect, but still exists as a cultivated, though secondary, language, and is taught even on the university level. It is not a necessity, however, for either the visitor or the resident, except as it concerns proper names and a few words so commonly used that they have become completely anglicized. In a very few words, convention sanctions the *v* sound for the letter *w*, but with these rare exceptions good Hawaiian is still pronounced exactly as spelled.

The final paragraph of this sketch will not be so pretentious as to call itself a bibliography, but some suggestions as to reading may be helpful. If you are curious about the primitive Polyynesians, get *Vikings of the Sunrise* (New York, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1938) by Sir Peter Buck, the greatest of authorities. I have already mentioned *Grapes of Canaan* (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1951) by Albertine Loomis, the story of the mission life up to 1827, with incidental mention of Loomis and his press. You may verify and supplement everything in this paper in the publications of the Hawaiian Historical Society, specifically the thirty-first and sixty-second Annual Reports (for 1922 and 1953) and Papers Numbers 14 and 17 (1908 and 1930). And if you begin to delve into these publications, perhaps you will find so much of interest that you will forget all about linguistics and missionaries and printing.

Sandys' *Song of Solomon*: Its Manuscript Versions and Their Circulation

By RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

THE ten known printed and manuscript texts of George Sandys' *A Paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon* (1641) present several problems regarding this particular poem and offer interesting suggestions as to seventeenth-century custom in the circulation of unpublished verse. Among the matters to be considered are the author's intent as to text, the manner of and motive for circulating the poem in manuscript, the reasons for the delay in printing this particular portion of a metrical paraphrase of the Scriptures, and the probability of a lost additional printed version of the poem. Materials for study include three printed and seven manuscript versions, no two of them identical even in phrase, all differing widely in spelling and punctuation. One manuscript text differs so markedly from all the others as to pose a special problem.

To understand what may be involved one must glance back a few years in Sandys' literary career. In the 1630's he was a member of the Court circle, perhaps a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. In 1636 he had published, under the direct encouragement of his patron Charles I, *A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David and upon the Hymnes Dispersed through the Old and New Testaments*, a modest little octavo with dedicatory poems to the King and Queen. Two years later, in 1638 (colophon 1637), in a small but elegant folio, Sandys enlarged the *Psalmes* into *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems*, with a prose dedication to the King and a

poem to the Queen and with musical settings for the *Psalmes* portion by Henry Lawes. The new edition contained, in addition to the materials of the 1636 edition, metrical versions of *Job*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Jeremiah*. In other words, all the generally considered metrical portions of the Bible other than "The Song of Solomon."¹

The folio was also rich in commendatory poems from Sandys' friends. One of these effusions, by Sidney Godolphin, indicates that the *Solomon* had been composed with the rest. In summarizing the content of Sandys' volume, Godolphin refers first to the works of David and Solomon which are printed, then to what has been omitted, with marginal comment by the writer or by Sandys himself.

Iob.	Iob, moves Amazement, David moves our Teares;
Psalmes	His Royall Sonne, a sad Apparell weares
Ecclesiastes.	Of Language, and perswades to Pious Feares.

The Passions of the First rise great and high,
But Salomon a lesse concerned Eye
Casting on all the world, flowes equally.

Not in that ardent course, as where He woes	Canticles
The Sacred Spouse, and her chaste Love pursues,	not Printed.
With brighter flames, and with a higher Muse.	

This Work had been proportion'd to our Sight,
Had you but known with some allay to Write,
And not preserved your Authors Strength and Light.

But you so crust those Odors, so dispense
Those rich perfumes, you make them too intense
And such (alas) as too much please our Sense.

We fitter are for sorrows, then such love²

Perhaps some one, or some group, objected to Sandys' poetizing of the *Solomon* as too sensual or at least too sensuous to appear

¹ Richard Beale Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer* (London and New York, 1955), pp. 236-240.

² *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (London, 1638), p. (**2).

in a volume to be used in private devotionals.³ One must keep in mind too that the printed poems were intended to please the King; indeed, this was one of the few books in which he delighted to read years later when he was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight.⁴ The objector, if there was one, was probably the King, though it may have been the Queen or Archbishop Laud, or all three. There are printed dedicatory verses to the Queen in all copies of the 1638 *Paraphrase*, and a manuscript poem to Laud in at least one.⁵ Or since there are dedicatory verses "To the Prince" in all copies and there is extant a copy which belonged to him, it may have been in some sort of deference to the future Charles II's tender years that these erotic and exotic lines were omitted.⁶

Within three years, however, *A Paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon* (1641) was in print in a small quarto. The little eighteen-leaved book was printed in London by John Legatt, who had also done the 1638 folio. It bears Sandys' initials and *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis* on the title page, and a full-page prose dedication to the King just within, beginning

SIR,

I presume to invite you to these sacred Nuptials: the Epithalamium sung by a crowned Muse. Never was there Paire of so divine a Beautie, nor united in such harmonious Affections: and infinitely he deserved her love; redeemed at so dear a Price, and inricht with so invaluable a Dowry.

Sandys concludes by begging pardon for "thus long continuing to make my Allay currant by the impression of your Name" (all

³ Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer*, p. 243.

⁴ Sir Thomas Herbert, *Memoirs of the Last Two Years of the Reign of King Charles I* (London, 1839), p. 61.

⁵ R. B. Davis, "Two New Manuscript Items for a George Sandys Bibliography," *PBSA*, XXXVII (1943), 215-222.

⁶ Fredson Bowers and R. B. Davis, *George Sandys: a Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700* (New York, 1950), p. 43. The New York Public Library owns a copy (*KC 1638 Sandys) bound with royal arms at the side and the Prince of Wales's coronet in the corners. The British Museum has a copy with the arms of Charles I on the binding.

his works had been dedicated to Charles) and declaring that he had now "broken up [his] ruinous Vessell" (that is, that this was his last poem).

This emphasis on the *Solomon* as a marriage hymn would suggest that Sandys was honoring both their Majesties, though only the King is here named. W. Carew Hazlitt describes another quarto printed at Oxford in 1641 "and dedicated to the Queenes Majesty."⁷ Though no copy of this edition is known, there is every reason to believe that there was such an edition. What does remain extant is a 1642 quarto published in London "And Dedicated to the Queenes Majesty."⁸ This edition, printed on inferior paper and not containing a dedicatory poem or prose piece of any kind despite the words on the title page, may have been pirated. Since it differs in phrase and word and punctuation from the 1641 London and contains *notice* of dedication to the Queen, it may have been set up from the lost Oxford 1641.

The only other printed appearance of the *Solomon* during the seventeenth century was in the 1676 edition of *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems*. Here it appears in its Biblically proper place between *Ecclesiastes* and *Jeremiah*, with a separate title, the same *Imprimatur* and prose dedication to the King as the London 1641, but with an added dedicatory poem "To the Queen." This poem is in the tone one might expect. If Sandys really had to fight to get the *Solomon* published, such allusions as these to the regal, divine, and marriage-hymn qualities of his poem were strategic maneuvers in the battle.

Chast Nymph, you who extracted are,
From that swift Thunderbolt of War;
Whose Innocence, & Meekness prove
An Eagle may beget a Dove;
In this clear Mirror you may find,
The Image of your own fair Mind;

⁷ *Handbook of the Popular . . . Literature of Great Britain* (London, 1867), p.

533.

⁸ Bowers and Davis, *George Sandys: a Catalogue*, pp. 52-53.

With each Attractive Excellence,
 Which Feasts the more refined sense;
 The Crowned Muse from Heaven inspir'd
 With such rich Beauties hath attir'd
 The Sacred Spouse: for what below
 The sun, could more perfection show?⁹

Though the printer may therefore have had both the London and Oxford editions of 1641 before him, the text of the 1676 is remarkably like that of the London 1641. In other words, it is much closer to the London 1641 than to the London 1642, which as has been noted may derive from the missing Oxford 1641.

So much can be seen of the relationship between the three extant printed versions of the *Solomon*. Some of the variants in text will be noted below. But at this point must be considered the seven known manuscript versions of the *Solomon*, for their origins and texts are related to those of the printed versions. About the only things that all seven appear to have in common are (1) that they are in earlier seventeenth-century hands (that is, that they were all probably written or copied between 1637 and 1643, for reasons to be indicated); and (2), that no one of them is in the author's autograph. Two of the manuscripts are separately "gathered" among papers in the Bodleian Library. Two others repose in the British Museum, one in a "Parliamentary Commonplace Book." And the other three, most interestingly, are bound into copies of the 1638 *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* now in the United States.

Before proceeding to a comparison of texts, one should know something of the history and physical form of each of these manuscripts. One of those in the Bodleian, MS. e. Museo 201 (foll. iii, 1-13), in a clearly legible earlier seventeenth-century hand, appears on sheets perhaps intended to be bound into a 4° or folio, though there is no indication that this was ever done.

⁹ *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* (London, 1676), p. 24 (of pagination beginning with *Ecclesiastes*).

The second Bodleian, MS. Rawl. poet. 153 (foll. 1-7^v), in a not entirely legible text because of the bad condition of the sheets, comes at the beginning of a poetical collection in which are included verses on the Civil War, and others related to Oxford University during the reigns of James I and Charles I. One British Museum copy, MS. Sloane 1009 (foll. 376^b-385), in an "old-fashioned," difficult, seventeenth-century hand, has headings in roman type form, and introduces the *Solomon* with the dedicatory verses to the Queen quoted above from the 1676 edition. Bound up in a miscellaneous collection of papers, it seems to be of about the same date as the other British Museum copy. This second copy, MS. Lansdowne 489 (foll. 121-127), in a copyist's hand, reposes in a small folio volume (12" x 8") which includes the autograph "Charles Cheyney. 1643." The name and date appear, however, on a smaller sheet of paper quite different from that of the *Solomon* and may not be of exactly the same time. The *Solomon* text is immediately preceded in this contemporary commonplace book by a piece bearing the date 30 June 1640. The initials "G.S." and "finis" appear in yellow and red, respectively. This copy also begins with the dedication "To y^e Queene" and on folio 128 quotes (as given above in this paper) nine lines of "Y^e Jydm^{nt} of Sidney Godolphin | On y^e former worke not printed," concluding with the initials "S.G." at the end in red.

The three American manuscripts bound into copies of the 1638 *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems* are apparently all contemporary fair copies; that is, they are in neatly spaced, unblotted, earlier seventeenth-century secretarial hands. The Library Company of Philadelphia copy is in a beautiful but simple contemporary English binding. On the printed title page, under the imprint, is written in ink "Ex dono Authoris | Arundell & Surry | virtutis Laus Actio." An examination by the Rosenbach Company's binding experts a few years ago produced the suggestion that Sandys himself had had this copy bound before

presentation to the famous art-collector the Earl of Arundell, for the Earl would probably have had his arms on the covers if he had it bound after receiving it.¹⁰ Besides the manuscript of the *Solomon*, this volume also contains two manuscript dedicatory poems, "To the Queen of Bohemia" and "To his Grace of Canterbury," items which themselves offer interesting suggestions as to the poet's associations and especially as to his practice in dedications,¹¹ for the verses to the Queen of Bohemia appear in printed form in at least one copy of the 1638 *Paraphrase*.¹² The *Solomon* manuscript is bound in its proper place among the Biblical printed materials, between *Ecclesiastes* and *Jeremiah*, possibly another indication that it was so placed by the author's order when he had the volume bound.¹³ The paper is naturally not identical with that of the printed sheets but seems contemporary. The historical fact that Arundell was out of England from July, 1641, for the rest of his life save for one short visit late in 1641, added to Sandys' known habit of making several presentations of copies of his work at the time of publication,¹⁴ seem to indicate that this manuscript was written at least before July, 1641, most probably in 1637/8.

The University of Cincinnati *Solomon*, an eight-leaved manuscript, also is bound in at the proper place between *Ecclesiastes* and *Jeremiah*, and also appears to be on contemporary paper, though naturally with a separate signature and different water-

¹⁰ Letter to R. B. Davis from the late Austin K. Gray of the Library Company of Philadelphia, December 4, 1941. At the same time the Rosenbach Company possessed a presentation copy from the author to G[ilbert] Watts (translator of Bacon and compiler of the MS. catalogue of Charles I) which bears Watts's arms on both boards.

¹¹ Discussed at some length, and the texts given, in Davis, "Two Manuscript Items," *loc. cit.*, pp. 215-222, and in "George Sandys and Two 'Uncollected' Poems," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XII (1947), 297-304.

¹² Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 21725b [Harmsworth], not to be confused with STC 21725 [Smedley].

¹³ The book has been examined for me recently by Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd, Librarian, Library Company of Philadelphia.

¹⁴ R. B. Davis, "George Sandys v. William Stansby: the 1632 Edition of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*," *The Library*, 5th ser., III (1948), 198-199.

mark.¹⁵ The binding is of contemporary calf, and there is no indication that it was a presentation copy. There is in this copy a manuscript title page, reading

A PARAPHRASE
VPON THE SONG

OF SOLOMON

By George

Sandys

Anno

1637

—

—

—

—

—

On the verso of this title page, at the top in a contemporary and perhaps identical hand with the text of the *Solomon*, are the words "To the Queene." Since the rest of the page is blank it may be presumed that the copyist originally planned to place here the verses to the Queen quoted above. On the title page of the printed book, in the same hand, are the words "Soles occidere & redire possunt z[?]i."

In the Folger Shakespeare Library 1638 *Paraphrase*, STC 21725 [Smedley], is bound a six-leaved manuscript of the *Solomon*. It is bound in at the end, but this signifies little, for the book has been rebound within the last fifty years.¹⁶ But the title is interesting and suggestive:

A Paraphrase upon Solomons Song.

Dedicated to the Queene.

But not sufferd to be printed.

Obviously this indicates a date before 1641, probably 1637/8.

¹⁵ Examined for me recently by Miss Rachel Raisin, Reference Librarian, University of Cincinnati Library.

¹⁶ This copy has been reexamined for me by Dr. Giles E. Dawson, Curator of Manuscripts of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

It is equally obvious that the writer of these lines considered the poem as an addendum to or completion of the printed text.

Now as to the manuscript texts in relation to the printed texts. For the sake of convenience, comparisons will be made generally with the two early printed texts, 1641 and 1642. In the seven manuscripts there is considerable though not sharp variation in spacing and in the location on the page of division headings, *Canto*, *Sponsus*, *Sponsa*, and *Chorus*; there is more variation in capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and phrasing. A word which in 1641]1642 appears as *Odors*] *Odours*, in various manuscripts appears as *Odors* | *odors* | *Odours* | *odours*, without an entire consistency in any one manuscript in either spelling or capitalization. Printed *Bitheron*] *Betheron* appear in manuscript five times with the "i," twice with the "e." Printed *Terza*] *Terzah* is thrice *Tyrzah*, twice *Terzah*, once *Tirzah*, and once *Teriah* in the manuscripts. Printed *Cyprus*] *Cypresse* is five times *Cypresse* and twice *Cyprus* in the manuscripts. The exclamatory printed ô] *O* becomes in manuscript *oh*, *ô*, and *O*. The copyists who contract or abbreviate are usually fairly consistent, as the *BMLansd*, which employs *wth* and *y^e*.

Peculiarities of individual word or phrase or variant form of words tend to fall into groups among the manuscripts; but no pattern is discernible, for the same sort of peculiarity does not necessarily remain in the same manuscripts. Line 10 of 1641 *To thy prepared Chamber bring*: is in all other printed and manuscript versions *Into thy Royall Chamber bring* (of course with variant spellings). The 1641 line 94 word *Harts* is also present in 1642, *LCPhila*, *BodRawl*, *BMSloane*, *Cincinnati*, *Folger*, and 1676; but the word becomes *Hinds* in *BodMus* and *BMLansd*. Yet *BodMus* shares with *BodRawl* line 105 in . . . *words, his looks invite* instead of the . . . *looks, his words invite* of all other versions. In line 119, the word *Dove* occurs in 1641, *LCPhila*, *BMSloane*, *BMLansd*, *Cincinnati*, and 1676; and the word *Love* in 1642, *BodMus*, *BodRawl*, and *Folger*. In line 143 *Vntraced* in 1641, *BMSloane*,

Cincinnati, and 1676, is *Vnsearched* in 1642, *Vntrodden* in *LCPhila*, *BodMus*, *BodRawl*, *BMLansd*, and *Have left untrod* in *Folger*. In line 128 *prosperous Rapine* in 1641, 1642, 1676, the two *BM's*, *Cincinnati*, and *Folger* is *thriving rapine* in *LCPhila*, *BodMus*, and *BodRawl*. In line 245, *Like Christall Streams which issue from* in 1641, 1642, 1676, the two *BM's*, and *Cincinnati* becomes *Like those clear Streames . . .* in two *Bodleians* and *Like Christall Streams that gently run* in the *Folger*. In line 451 *May I thy Fingers . . .* in 1641, 1642, 1676, *LCPhila*, *BodMus*, the two *BM's*, and *Cincinnati*, becomes *Let me thy fingers . . .* in *BodRawl* and *Folger*.

Generally, *Cincinnati* and *BMSloane* are the two manuscripts most resembling 1641 and 1676, though they share line 10 with 1642 rather than 1641, and in spelling are about as much like one of the two early printed versions as the other. Actually both in line 68 use the spelling *Cyprus* as 1641, while all other versions spell *Cypresse*. They follow 1641 also in line 314, *Bases* instead of the 1642 *Bosses*, though this they share with all other copies except *Folger*.

Though the *LCPhila* text also much resembles 1641, it is almost as much like 1642 in spelling. It differs from both in several lines: e.g., line 22, 1641] 1642 *Solomon*] *Solomon*, in *LCPhila* *Salomon*; in line 128, for the printed *Vntraced*] *Unsearched*, *LCPhila* has *Untrodden*; in line 161, printed *Beautie*] *What beauty* becomes in *LCPhila* *What's this*; in line 305, printed *Rivolet*] *Rivolet* is spelled in *LCPhila* *Rivulet*.

BodMus shows some carelessness in copying. Line 224, for example, is omitted; in other places phrases and lines are reversed or inverted. In spelling *BodMus* varies between 1641 and 1642, and in lines 245, 364, 397, 438, 460, 494 has new single words or phrases. For example, in line 245, 1641 *Like Christall Streams . . .* changes as noticed above; in line 484, 1641 *cheerful* becomes in *BodMus* *pleasinge* [only example].

In *BodRawl* the copyist omits lines 397-398 but in general presents a text between 1641 and 1642 sharing idiosyncrasies of

spelling in some instances with *BodMus*. One variant may be an auditory error: line 317, 1641 ... *the eare with Musick* ... becomes in *BodRawl* ... *y^e ayre with musick* ... [only example]. The same sort of error may have occurred in line 367, 1641 *Then unaware, and* ...; *BodRawl* *When unawares, and*. ... As noted above *BodRawl* shares with *BodMus* the variant of 1641 line 245. *BodRawl* is the only copy to have in line 424 the word *spring* instead of *love*. And it shares with *Folger*, line 451 *Lett me* for the usual *May I*.

BMLansd differs from the printed versions perhaps more than the five mentioned above. Most of its several divergent words and phrases may be, however, the result of careless errors in transcription. Thus in line 135, the normal *duskie*] *dusky* is *duskyish*; in line 148 *desir'd* is *admir'd*; in line 240, *Teares* is *trees*; in line 292 *And with your teares soft pittie move*, becomes *And wth soft teares his pittie move*; in line 371, *Shulamite* becomes *Sulamite*. In lines 403-404 ... *Palmes high Crowne* | ... *Victorious Hands renowned* becomes ... *ye Palmes high crowned*, | ... *victorious hand renowned*. These are all unique variants.

The *Folger* has been considered last, for it differs quite radically in many of its lines from all the others.¹⁷ In several instances it agrees with the 1642 instead of the 1641 (e.g., in single words in lines 200, 208, 209, 314, 456; in *Bosses* for 1641 *Bases*; in *would* for *could*). Phrases frequently differ from those of all other versions. And beginning just before the middle of the poem, in lines 215-226, and continuing through to the end are more than seventy lines differing so markedly from all other versions as to establish the *Folger* as a really variant text of the poem. For this reason several parallel passages should be given for comparison:

¹⁷ A century and a half ago A. Clifford, in *Tixall Poetry* (London, 1813, pp. 335-336), mentioned that he had in his possession "a manuscript copy of [the *Solomon*] ... transcribed in the year 1638, which I have great reason to believe has never been faithfully printed." He might refer to the *Folger* copy, but probably to some copy now unknown (particularly if it actually bore the date 1638).

1641

Folger

215] From Hills where dreadfull Lions rave,
216] And from the Mountain Leopards Cave.

From Dennes where dreadfull Lions iarre
And from high Hills where Leopards
are.

225] Thy Lips drop Honey, from below

Thy Lipps dropps Sweetnes for from
thence

226] Thy Pallate Milke and Honey flow,

Thy Honeyed tongue send influence;

244] Whose Drils our plants with moisture
feed:

Wch doe our Plants wth moisture feede

245] Like Christall Streams which issue from

Like Christall Streames that gently run

246] The Fountain-fruitfull Lebanon.

And water fruitfull Libanon.

247] You cooler Winds breath from the North,

You cooler Winds blow from the North

248] You dropping Southern Gales break
forth;

You dropping Southerne gales breake
forth.

249] On this our Garden gently blow

And gently breath among our fflowers

250] And through the Land rich Odors throw.

That their Sweet Odour may be ours;

255] I to my Garden have retir'd,

I to my garden went, and found

256] Reapt Spices which perfumes expir'd;

Perfumes and spices, on the ground;

388] Thine Eyes, which shine with equall
Raies,

Thyne Eyes (wch shine wth equall
Rayes)

389] Like Heshbons Pooles by Bathrabim,

Cleare as the Pooles by Bathrabbim;

390] Where silver-scaled fishes swim:

Where silver fishes gladly swim:

393] Which all the pleasant plain surveys,

Whence Abanas sweet Streames do'run

394] Where Abana her streames displays:

(along the Plaine) Division

395] Thy Head, like Carmel, cloth'd with
shade;

Thy Head like Carmel, cloth'd wth
shade,

396] Whose Tresses Tyrian fillets brai'd.

Where Liveries for Kings are made

397] The King, from Cypresse Galleryes,

Of Tyrian purple, who there tied,

398] This Chaine of strong Affection tyes.

A willing bondage do abide:

409] Choice wines shall from thy Palate
spring,

Choice wines shall at thy Pallate take,

410] Most acceptable to the King:

Their Gust, and a sweet passage make,

411] Which sweetly shall descend, and make

Wch shall giue speech, and not depriue,

412] The Dumb to speak, the Dead to wake.

Not kill, but make dead men suruiue.

447] Thy carefull Mother, in that Shade,

Thy awefull Mother in that shade,

448] With anguish, her faire Belly laid.

Conceiued, and her faire Belly laid;

449] Be I, ô thou my better Part,

Set mee (ô thou my better part)

450] A seale imprest upon thy Heart:

As a firme Seale upon thyne Hart

451] May I thy Fingers Signet prove,

Lett mee thy fingers signet proue,

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 477] | Thou Solomon shalt have thy due: | To thee ô Salomon I'le bring |
| 478] | Two hundred more remain for you, | A thousand for an Offering. |
| 479] | (Out of the surplus of our gains) | Two hundred peeces more remaines, |
| 480] | Who in our Vineyard took such pains. | To them that in it take most paines. |

In most instances the phrasing is more felicitous, the line less crowded and the meter therefore tighter, in the 1641 (and all other versions) than in this *Folger*. The fact that the *Folger* text bears the subtitle "not sufferd to be printed" indicates, as suggested above, that this is an early manuscript. It might easily be Sandys' first version of the *Solomon*, for revised versions of other verse of his—the *Metamorphosis*, for example, much of which exists in three versions and part in four—tend in their later forms to show just the sort of "improvements" the 1641 shows over the *Folger*: the happier phrase and the more regular line.¹⁸ The *Folger* appears to be at least a "rejected" (for printing) early version of the poem.

From these ten printed and manuscript texts it is impossible to trace anything like a manuscript tree, for there is nothing like a clear line of descent, nor necessarily any line of descent. There are enough real (as opposed to copyists' erroneous) changes in word and phrase and even line to indicate that the poet himself had allowed his verse to be transcribed at different periods, when he was still polishing. Perhaps one is safe in surmising that all the manuscript versions, with the possible though not probable exception of *BMLansd*, were transcribed before 1641, and some of them as early as 1637, when the Court knew that Sandys would not include the *Solomon* in *A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems*. The actual existence of so many fair copies is new evidence that the poet and the poem were extremely popular in the period. And the erotic subject and sensuous phrase may have made it especially appealing in Court and general circles. The *LCPHila* copy, and perhaps the *Cincinnati* and the *Folger*, may indicate that the poet could defy authority to the extent of pre-

¹⁸ Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer*, pp. 209-212.

senting his unpublished verse bound in with his published. This is the only instance known to the writer of English Renaissance "outlawed" material being bound with licensed material and apparently so distributed by the author himself,¹⁹ an interesting if not a significant matter.

Perhaps the publication of this essay may lead to the discovery of the lost 1641 Oxford edition, and that in turn to a clarification of the relation of several of the manuscript versions to each other. At all events, students of Stuart poetry may be interested to know that at least seven manuscript versions of a most popular poem of the period still exist, and that at least one version offers a hitherto quite unknown text of the poem.

¹⁹ As indicated in note 10 above and in Bowers and Davis, *George Sandys: a Bibliographical Catalogue*, p. 43, there are of course presentation copies of the 1638 *Paraphrase* which do not contain the manuscript *Solomon*.

John Bellamy: "Pilgrim" Publisher of London*

By LEONA ROSTENBERG

ON February 4, 1619/20, a London apprentice completed his term of indenture. As a freedman, he was to enter the Company of Stationers. In the busy metropolitan capital of the English booktrade John Bellamy readily assumed his place. To his colleagues and sober-minded patrons, who were to frequent his premises at the Two Greyhounds or the Three Golden Lions, Cornhill, Bellamy offered shelves of Puritan polemics and theological commentaries. To those customers whose spirit roved abroad he displayed a particular group of publications. In contrast, these slim volumes breathed of a world distant and remote from the familiar and secure confines of Cornhill.

On September 6, 1620, when Bellamy had been established for but a short time, 102 English exiles sailed from Plymouth harbor. They too had completed their term of indenture to the credo of established faith. As travelers freed in soul and spirit, they were to embrace a distant world of challenge and hazard unknown to their kindred at home. The relationship between John Bellamy and the Leyden Pilgrims is one of more than chronological coincidence. Although the London publisher failed to venture abroad, in spirit and faith he voyaged with his Pilgrim kinsmen. By conviction he adhered to their religious tenets

* Appreciation is expressed to Mr. R. T. Rivington, Clerk of the Stationers' Company, London, for his permission to examine the manuscripts at Stationers' Hall; to Mrs. Hugh Foster, Union Theological Seminary Library, for her kindness in having placed at my disposal the books in the McAlpin Collection; and to Mr. William A. Jackson, Houghton Library, Harvard University, for his valuable suggestions.

during the early years of his career, and in justification of his belief he issued their doctrine and their history. As the publisher of the writings of the New England religious and political leaders, explorers and historians, John Bellamy, a London "Pilgrim," brought to the Old World the incomparable accomplishments of the new worlds in the wilderness.

John Bellamy was born *ca.* 1596 at Oundle, a small market town of Northamptonshire. His immediate family was large, and it appears to have owned considerable property in the County. Among his relatives he counted the Lady Elizabeth Bettesworth, who was to marry Sir William Morrice, the future Secretary of State under Charles II.¹

In 1611 Bellamy began his apprenticeship under Nicholas Bourne of London, who had begun an active publishing career at the South Entrance of the Royal Exchange in 1608. Bellamy's term of service terminated in February, 1619/20, when he "was sworne and admitted a freeman of the Company." In 1622 he set up at the Two Greyhounds in Cornhill, moving two years later to new premises at the Three Golden Lions.²

As an apprentice of Nicholas Bourne, Bellamy has been described as a young man of "a most pious . . . quiet and tender conscience." Although Bourne's customers may have been casually conscious of young Bellamy's desire "to know more of the mind and will of God," it is quite doubtful that they were acquainted with his true religious affiliations. It mattered little to the majority of Bourne's patrons that in 1616 his apprentice had joined the first Congregational Church established in England. The community in Southwark under the pastorship of Henry

¹ Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), 20; for details on Bellamy's background and family, see *The Will of John Bellamie*, Alchin, Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Manuscript, Somerset House, London).

² For Bourne, see R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland . . . 1557 to 1640* (London, 1910), 55; *Freeman's Register beginning 1605 to 1703*, February 4, 1619 (Manuscript, Stationers' Hall, London).

Jacob shared the credo of the Leyden Independent Church, and may be regarded as its London counterpart. Hence young Bellamy was a member of an English Separatist group, which, although it never braved the hazards of the unknown, withstood the wrath of the government and the ostracism of society.³

Bellamy was about twenty when he joined the Southwark Church led by a former Brownist who had sought refuge in Holland. In 1610 Henry Jacob had visited Leyden to confer with John Robinson, pastor of the English Separatist Community. He adopted his ideas in regard to church government and accepted his principles of Independency or Congregationalism. In 1616 Jacob returned to London, where he organized his own congregation based upon the tenets of the Leyden sect. His Southwark Church was founded in 1616 on a "day of solemn fasting and prayer." Together with his parishioners, Jacob joined hands and "solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God to walk together in all God's ways and Ordinances according as He had revealed or should further make known to them." Bellamy described his congregation as a "true Church of Christ, the Ministry thereof as received by the people, a true Ministry." It is not impossible that young Bellamy had been inspired to join Jacob's community through the

³ John Price, *The City Remonstrance Remonstrated, Or An Answer to Colonell Bellamy, his Vindication thereof* (London, 1646), 16, 16 f.; John Bellamie, *A Iustification of the City Remonstrance and its Vindication* (London, 1646), 19. Price asserted that Bellamy refused to sell prayer books, a charge which Bellamy refuted by publishing a letter from Bourne dated July 24, 1646: "Mr. Bellamie, This day there came to my hands, a Booke called the City Remonstrance Remonstrated where in pag. 16 I find you are accused, that when you were my seruant you would not sell Prayer-books: To which I answer, to prove the contrary, that I know you never refused to sell prayer-books and that I printed a prayer-book, called the Supplication of Saints, of which I doe believe I sold some hundreds. Nicholas Bourne." In his *Remonstrance* Price states: "According to the perswasions of your own judgement and conscience you applied yourself to a separate congregation, whereof Mr. Jacob was pastor . . . with whom continuing, and frequenting to walk with them in their more private meetings . . .," 17. Bellamy fully acknowledges his membership in Jacob's congregation in his *Iustification*: "It is true, I did above thirty years since apply myself to that Congregation whereof Mr. Jacob was then Pastor with whom I continued in communion all the time he continued in this kingdome, and some years after, but that this was then as you affirme a Separate Congregation," 21.

preaching of the Puritans Thomas Cartwright, John Dod and Arthur Hildersham, whose evangelical zeal had permeated Northamptonshire.⁴

Bellamy was still a member of the Southwark Church in 1622 when Jacob departed for Virginia to disseminate his religious ideas. He was succeeded by John Lathrop, whom Bellamy acknowledged as a "learned, holy, humble and painful preacher." Like Jacob, he was to emigrate eventually to the New World, founding Scituate in New England in 1634. It was during Lathrop's pastorate that Bellamy severed his association with the Southwark Congregation.⁵ Despite his defection, the most important religious writings and narratives conceived by the Pilgrims in the Old and New Worlds and issued by John Bellamy remain not merely the work of sectaries and historians but also the tributes of a co-believer, the legacy of a "Pilgrim" publisher of London.

Bellamy's career spans the first half of the seventeenth century. His critics attributed his immediate success to his natural piety, which "increas[ed his] Customers." When Bellamy died in 1653, he had published an approximate 237 works of which sixty-three per cent represent the religious concepts of the different Puritan sectaries. At the outset of his career Bellamy had issued books jointly with his former master Bourne, and in 1622 he appears to have enjoyed a brief partnership with Benjamin Fisher of the Talbot, Aldersgate Street. From 1639 to 1644 he was associated with Ralph Smith of the Blue Bible in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange. For the most part, however, Bellamy conducted his affairs alone.⁶

⁴ For Henry Jacob, see Henry M. Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years As seen In Its Literature* (New York, 1880), 378 n.; Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans* (London, 1822), II, 92; Henry W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity* (London, 1911), 191; A. H. Drysdale, *History of the Presbyterians in England* (London, 1889), 5; Bellamy, *op. cit.*, 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 21: "Mr. Jacob leaving England and going to Virginia, the Congregation was then for a time, to the best of my remembrance, left without a Pastor . . . and at that time Mr. John Lothrop . . . was the Pastor."

⁶ For Fisher and Smith, see McKerrow, *op. cit.*, 104; Plomer, *op. cit.*, 1641-67, 167.

At his shops Bellamy was assisted by a succession of apprentices, who appear also to have been trained in the design and manufacture of picture frames. On January 5, 1638/39, the Secretary of State, Sir Francis Windebank, "paid Mr. Bellamy for two picture frames £1 5s." Bellamy's apprentices include William Morton, Benjamin Allen, Peter Cole, Edward Spurdance, Francis Carr, Stephen Bowtell, Nathaniel Ekins and Thomas Newberry. Five were to continue in the profession. Allen and Ekins, who came from Northamptonshire, in all probability were the sons of friends or were recommended to the London master. Allen set up at the Crown, Pope's Head, and Ekins at the Gun in St. Paul's Churchyard. Stephen Bowtell was quite active at the Bible in Pope's Head Alley from 1642 to 1664. Peter Cole was to continue in close proximity to his master at the Glove in Cornhill, while Thomas Newberry appears to have shared the shop at the sign of the Three Golden Lions for a short time. The influence of Bellamy upon his apprentices is patent. Allen and Cole both published some Americana, while Bowtell was to issue five editions of Nathaniel Ward's *Simple Cobbler of Aggavvam*.⁷

Bellamy does not appear to have been particularly active in the affairs of the Stationers' Company. In 1645 he was a member of the committee appointed to complete subscriptions for the printing of the Bible, and two years later he was named Warden of the Company in association with John Latham under the mastership of John Parker.⁸

Although the polemics of the English divines published by

⁷ *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I, 1638-1639* (London, 1871), 295; for Bellamy's apprentices see *Apprentices Register Book 1605-1666* (Manuscript, Stationers' Hall, London); for Allen, Ekins, Bowtell, Cole and Newberry, consult Plomer, *op. cit.*, 1641-67, 1, 70, 31, 48, 136; for Nathaniel Ward, *The Simple Cobar of Aggavvam* (London, 1647), 5 editions, see Donald G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland . . . 1641-1700* (New York, 1951), W786-790.

⁸ *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1640-1708 A.D.* (London, 1913), I, 589, 298 (henceforth designated as *Transcript*, 1640-1708); *Apprentices Register Book 1605-1666*, August 2, 1647.

Bellamy are of significance, they remain secondary in interest to those books and tracts which represent the faith, planting and growth of the first permanent English settlements in New England. Bellamy issued twenty-four works of the most distinguished Congregational and Puritan leaders, historians and observers. The writings of Henry Ainsworth, John Robinson, John Cotton, William Wood and Philip Vincent were frequently reprinted. Of Bellamy's total production, fifteen per cent recall the religious, political and social concepts of the Leyden, Plymouth and Boston leaders.

In 1621 Bellamy issued his earliest publications associated with the Leyden community. *The Forceable Power of the Love of Christ* and *Paul His Complaint against his Naturall Corruption* were written by William Teelinck, a Dutchman who had settled at Edinburgh and visited England. At Canons Ashby he had become friendly with Dod and Hildersham. Upon his return to Holland Teelinck studied theology at Leyden, where he became intimate with John Robinson. Bellamy advertised the author of *Paul His Complaint against his Naturall Corruption* as a "preacher of the Word of God at Middleburgh," and included in the volume the dedicatory letter of the translator, Charles Harmar: "These two sermons . . . were first preached in the Netherlandish Dutch, for the benefit of the people of God in those parts, which being also my desire in this place, I according to my slender ability have translated and published them here."⁹

There is every reason to believe that Teelinck was familiar with the writings of Henry Ainsworth, who had become the leader of the Separatist Congregation at Amsterdam. A learned, sincere and uncompromising idealist, Ainsworth believed that

⁹ *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1544-1640 A.D.* (London, 1875), IV, 18, June 16, 1621 (henceforth designated as *Transcript, 1554-1640*); Alfred W. Pollard & Gilbert R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland . . . 1475-1640* (London, 1945), 23861 (STC); *Transcript, 1554-1640*, 14, April 12, 1621.

each church should be a religious republic independent of state control. Ainsworth was a fairly prodigious writer. The majority of his Biblical commentaries and controversial tracts were issued at Amsterdam. Bellamy appears to have been the first English publisher of his works, issuing four editions of his *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses*, *Annotations upon Exodus*, *Solomon's Song of Songs in English Meeter* and the *Communion of Saints*.¹⁰

The controversial ideas of Ainsworth were not unheeded by the guiding spirit of the Leyden Congregation, John Robinson. In 1608, when Robinson had left Scrooby Manor for exile abroad, he had been welcomed to Amsterdam by Ainsworth. Disturbed by the dissensions in church government, Robinson and William Brewster migrated to Leyden the following year. Here Robinson was publicly ordained pastor of the three hundred English exiles of whom many were to become the nucleus of the future colony at Plymouth Bay. In all likelihood Bellamy was acquainted with Robinson's career and teachings through Henry Jacob, and it is quite possible that the Southwark minister acted as the agent for the publication of Robinson's *Essayes* in England. As in the case of Ainsworth, Bellamy was the first English publisher of any of Robinson's writings, the *New Essayes or Observations Divine and Morall*. A collection of sixty-two essays on ethical and spiritual topics, they were reprinted twice by Bellamy.¹¹

It was largely through the efforts of Robinson that the project of emigration of the English Sect at Leyden to America was conceived and achieved. In 1617 he supported the mission of John Carver, a deacon of the Leyden Community, and Robertushman, a member of the group, to negotiate with the Virginia Company in London. Terms were arranged and the final plans concluded with Thomas Weston whereby the *Mayflower* and the

¹⁰ *STC*, 217, 220, 213, 2775; Wing, *op. cit.*, A807.

¹¹ *STC* 211122-21114.

Speedwell were engaged for the transportation of the Leyden exiles to "North Virginia" in America.

John Robinson was not among the 102 adventurers who reached Plymouth harbor on November 11, 1620. Almost a year later his friend Robert Cushman sailed on the *Fortune* to investigate the condition of the Plymouth Colony, remaining in the settlement through the early part of December, 1621. In the capacity of a lay preacher, Cushman delivered his sermon on "The Sin and Danger of Self Love and the Sweetness of True Friendship" four days prior to his departure for England on the first anniversary Sunday of the landing of the Pilgrims. Shortly after his return to England Bellamy published Cushman's *Sermon Preached at Plimmoth in Nevv-England December 9. 1621*. In a preface "shewing the state of the contrie and condition of the inhabitants" Cushman referred to the literary indifference of the English public, which "shall marvell at the publishing of this treatise . . . seeing there is no want of good bookes, but rather want of men to vse good bookes." Cushman's *Sermon* is to be regarded as the earliest printed document relating to the Plymouth Colony.¹²

A few months later a work of Virginia interest appeared in London, *A Sermon called Virginia's God Be Thanked*. Patrick Copland, a minister of Bowe Church in Cheapside and a Chaplain of Martin Pring's ship, the *Royal James*, had collected funds for the establishment of a free school in Charles County, Virginia, to be called the East India School. For its maintenance one thousand acres of land with five servants and an overseer were allotted by the Virginia Company. Copland's *Sermon* bears the joint

¹² *Ibid.*, 6149; *Transcript*, 1544-1640, IV, 28, March 22, 1621/1622; Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (New York, 1868-1936), V, 156. For Cushman's residence in Plymouth, see Henry W. Cushman, "Robert Cushman's Sermon, Delivered in 1621" in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1861), XV, 169; Robert Cushman, *Sermon* (London, 1622), "Epistle Dedicatory To His Loving Friends, the Adventvrers For Nevv England; Together with all Well-Willers, and Well-Wishers thereunto."

imprint of Bellamy and William Sheffard of Pope's Head Alley. In his dedication to the Virginia Company Copland stated that he had published his *Sermon* at the request of members of the Company: "After I had discharged the charge laid vpon me by your Honourable and Worshipfull Court; and was presently after, sollicitd by some of your Honourable Societie, to present to the eye, what I had deliuered to the eare. Though at first, I was indeed very vnwilling, at their intreatie: yet being commanded by your Honourable Court to publish what before you had intreated mee to preache, and weighing well with my selfe, that words spoken, are soone come, soone gone; but that written withall they make a deeper impression." The words "written" by the Reverend Mr. Copland form the only American work circulated by Bellamy relating to Virginian colonization.¹³

In 1622 the master of the Two Greyhounds issued one of the most important narratives relating to the New England colonies. Among the passengers on the maiden voyage of the *Mayflower* had been Edward Winslow, the future governor of the Plymouth Bay Colony. An extremely active member of the young plantation, he was one of the two colonists delegated to visit the Sachem Massasoit at Pokanoket on a diplomatic mission.

When the *Fortune* returned to England on December 13, 1621, it carried among its passengers Robert Cushman and among its freight, "two hogsheds of beaver and other skins and good clapboards as full as she can hold." It also brought to the Old World four narratives of explorations and dealings with the Indians written in part by Winslow and Governor William Bradford. As the *Fortune* neared the Channel it was seized by a French man-o'-war commanded by Master Fontenau de Penart, who took the vessel to the Isle of Rhé. Here its captain, Thomas Barton, and his passengers were detained for two weeks by the Governor, the Marquis de Cera, who fed his guests rather

¹³ STC 5727; *Transcript, 1544-1640*, IV, 30, May 18, 1622; Sabin, *op. cit.*, IV, 528.

niggardly on "lights, livers and entrails." After the return of the *Fortune* to England the indignities visited upon her captain and passengers were listed in official charges against Fontenau de Pennart, who "had sent for all their letters; opened and kept what he pleased, especially though he was much intreated to the contrary, a letter by the Governor of our colony in New England, containing a general relation of all matters there."¹⁴

It cannot be determined whether Fontenau de Pennart retained any part of the original narratives written by Winslow and Bradford and sent to England on the *Fortune*. The fragment or the complete manuscript, however, was received by Bellamy before June 29, 1622, when he entered at Stationers' Hall a copy of a work entitled *Newes from newe England*. At the Two Greyhounds in Cornhill, there appeared shortly thereafter a *Relation or Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England, by certaine English Aduenturers both Merchants and others*. This significant tract has often been erroneously cited as Mourt's *Relation*. It is actually the narratives of Winslow and Bradford which had been originally dispatched to George Morton, a member of the Scrooby Congregation and one of the financial stays of the Leyden Community. Morton had shortened his name to Mourt, and during Cushman's absence in London acted as the chief Pilgrim agent in London. It is quite possible that Mourt added his own interpretation of colonial affairs, gleaned from the information of returning planters, to the original reports of Winslow and Bradford.¹⁵

¹⁴ For an account of the return of the *Fortune* to England, see William Bradford, *of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, edited by Samuel E. Morison (New York, 1952), 107, 94, 103. Morison cites Cushman's letter of March or April, 1622, addressed to Bradford: "By God's providence we got well home the 17 of February being robbed by the Frenchmen by the way, and carried by them to France, and were kept there for 15 days, and lost all that we had that was worth taking, but thanks be to God, we escaped with our lives and with our ship"; Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, edited by William T. Davis (New York, 1920), 13; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660* (London, 1860), I, 124; Walter H. Burgess, *The Pastor of the Pilgrims, A Biography of John Robinson* (New York, 1920), 270.

¹⁵ *Transcript*, 1544-1640, IV, 34, June 29, 1622; STC 20074; Sabin, *op. cit.*,

Mourt, however, was not in London during the actual printing of the *Relation*, and it is not known whether it was he or a member of the Virginia Company, acting upon instructions from Winslow or Bradford, who gave the manuscript to Bellamy. It is evident that Mourt did not correct the proof sheets, since the text includes the misspellings of several prominent names. The *Relation* contains Mourt's preface, which clearly indicates the intention of Winslow and Bradford to have Mourt execute the publication: "These relations coming to my hand from both known & faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not a misse to make them more generall, hoping of a cheerefull proceeding, both of Aduenturers and planters, in-treating that the example of the hon: Virginia and Bermudas Companies . . . may preuaile as a spurre of preparation." The work, dedicated by Cushman to Robert Pierce, is described as "being writ by the several actors themselves after their plain and rude manners." This *Relation*, comprising the narratives of Winslow and Bradford, is the first work actually written in North America relating to English colonization to be published in England.¹⁶

The observations of Winslow contained in Mourt's *Relation* are continued in his *Good Nevves from New England or A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in New-England*, issued by Bellamy and William Bladen. Winslow had returned to England in 1623 and had apparently brought the manuscript with him. Both the author and the publishers were

XII, 448; for a history of Mourt's *Relation*, see Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (Boston, 1844), 109 ff., and *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606-1646*, edited by William T. Davis, 11-14.

¹⁶ [Mourt], *Relation*: "To The Reader," Young, *op. cit.*, 109 f. Cushman is the first Englishman to have written on the condition of the colonies during his sojourn in the New World. Other works were written by Englishmen during their stay in the Americas: the poet, Thomas Lodge, composed his *Margarite of America* off the Straits of Magellan in 1591, while Sandys completed his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* during his Virginia residence in 1621. Neither relates to New England colonization.

aware of the growing popular interest in overseas relations. In his preface Winslow remarked: "When I first penned this discourse, I intended it chiefly for the satisfaction of my private friends; but since that time I haue beene perswaded to publish the same."¹⁷

The work is described as "written by E.W. who hath borne a part in the forenamed troubles, and there lived since their first arrivall." Winslow apparently did not remain in London to read the proofs, since he called the reader's attention to "some faults (which) have escaped on the press which I pray thee correct as thou findest and I shall account it a favor unto me." Winslow's tract appears to have been the only work in which Bellamy chose to advertise his colonial publications: "If any man desire a more ample relation of the State of this Countrie, before such time as the present relation taketh place, I referre them to the two former printed bookes: the one published by the President and Councill for New England, and the other gathered by the Inhabitants of this present Plantation at Plimouth in New-England: Both which bookes are to be sold by Iohn Bellamy, at his shop at the three golden Lions in Corne-hill, neere the Royal Exchange." Bellamy's announcement refers to a *Briefe Relation of the discovery and plantation of New England* issued by his associate Bladen and his own publication of Mourt's *Relation*.¹⁸

Among the visitors to the Plymouth Plantation had been the Reverend Mr. William Morrell, who had remained with the colonists for one year. An Anglican clergyman, he had accompanied the expedition of Robert Gorges to Massachusetts in 1623. During his stay in New England he studied its topography and natural life, condensing his observations into a set of elegant Latin hexameters. The printed version of the Reverend Mr. Morrell's contemplations, entitled *New England or a Briefe En-*

¹⁷ STC 25855; *Transcript*, 1544-1640, IV, 34; Sabin, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 537.

¹⁸ Edward Winslow, *Good News from New-England*: "To The Reader" and "Postscript at end."

naration of the Ayre, Earth, water, fish and fowle of that country, was issued by Bellamy in 1625. The text includes an English translation intended for the colonist whose interest in the climate and soil of the new world outweighed his enthusiasm for Latin verse. Morrell's work praises the countryside and reviles its aboriginal inhabitants. He apparently planned to continue his observations and "enforme [the planter] hereafter" of requisites essential for colonization. The subsequent work, however, was never completed.¹⁹

In 1627 Bellamy issued *An Historicall Discoverie and Relation of the English Plantations in New England*, a work of the utmost rarity today. This publication includes reprints of Mourt's *Relation* and Morrell's *New England*. Issued under a general title, it formed a fairly comprehensive outline of New England history for the student and prospective settler.²⁰

Three years later Bellamy's imprint was found in several of the earliest and most important New England books and tracts. Temporarily he shifted his interest from the affairs of the Plymouth Plantation to the inception of the new Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Bellamy's publication of the works of the New England Puritans may be possibly associated with his current religious beliefs and his withdrawal from the Southwark Church, which he had left *ca.* 1626. Shortly after Lathrop's induction as its pastor, differences arose among the parishioners. A committee of three, of which Bellamy was one, was appointed to investigate the members' grievances. "After sundry conferences," Bellamy wrote, "wee not agreeing, I thought it my dutie to signifie my mind . . . to the whole congregation." In a lengthy letter in which he ana-

¹⁹ *STC* 18169; Sabin, *op. cit.*, XII, 391; William Morrell, *New England: "Postscript."* For Morrell, see Justin Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston . . . 1630-1880* (Boston, 1885), I, 76.

²⁰ *STC* 18484; unknown to Sabin. There is no copy of this work in any American library. The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., has a microfilm of the only known copy in the Library of the British Museum.

lyzed the rite of Ordination and its administration by the Independent minister, Bellamy expressed his disapproval and stated his reasons for withdrawal from the Congregation. Nevertheless, as the years passed, he was to proclaim his affection for the work and character of its members: "[I] have according to my poore ability, beene alwayes ready and willing to performe all offices of Christian love and respect unto any of them; and I hope, as occasion is offered, ever shall be; and though I cannot agree with them in opinion and practise, yet I hope I shall ever love them as my own soul."²¹

Three years after Bellamy's separation from the Southwark Church, an eminent English squire lifted his "harte" to God for the "justification" of his "intended" project. With the dissolution of Parliament in 1629 John Winthrop, Lord of the Manor of Groton, decided to cast in his lot with the emigrants departing for the new world. After five months of preparation, during which time Winthrop had been elected governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a fleet of four ships had been assembled to transport the colonists. Contrary winds detained the travelers off the coast of the Isle of Wight, and it was during this interval that Winthrop wrote his notable letter of farewell to his countrymen: *The Humble Request Of His Maiesties loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company late gone to New-England; To the rest of their Brethren, in and of the Church of England*. The work was entered in the Register of the Stationers' Company by Bellamy on May 21, 1630, and was published shortly thereafter. It is regarded as one of the most tender and eloquent documents in the annals of New England history. It strikes the keynote of the entire enterprise, and illustrates the spirit and character of its leaders. In England the tract enjoyed some publicity. It came to the attention of the Suffolk diarist John Rous, who wrote: "I sawe a booke at Bury at a booksellers, containing a declaration of their intent who be gone to New Englande, set out by themselves, and pur-

²¹ Bellamy, *op. cit.*, 24, 29.

posed for satisfaction to the King and State (as I conceive) because of some scandalous misconceivings that runne abroad." ²²

Among those who traveled to Yarmouth to wish Winthrop and his associates Godspeed had been the Boston nonconformist preacher John Cotton, an old friend of the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. At Southampton Cotton preached his sermon, *Gods Promise to His Plantation*, a message of hope and encouragement to the undaunted travelers, which was published by Bellamy in 1630 and 1634. "It is hoped," declared Cotton, "there is none but will finde cause to approve of the worke, and of them that ingage themselves in it; But especially they who any way, at least by silence (a seeming applause) approved the Plantations of Virginia, St. Christophers, Bermudas, this having ends inferiour to none of them." ²³

Aboard the *Talbot*, *Jewel*, or *Ambrose*, assembled at Yarmouth, was the nonconformist divine John Wilson, who had been a neighbor of Winthrop at Groton. Wilson was to become the first minister of the Churches of Charlestown and Boston. Among the books entered by Bellamy in 1630 is Wilson's sermon, *Zacheus converted*, which he issued with the stationer Fulke Clifton the following year. ²⁴

Three years later, Bellamy published not only the second edition of *Gods Promise to His Plantation* by the Reverend Mr. John Cotton, who had emigrated to that plantation in 1633, but also one of the most enthusiastic and informative narratives of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. William Wood's *New Englands Prospect*, written "to enrich the knowledge of the mind-traveling Reader, or benefit the future voyager," was issued by Bellamy in 1634.

Wood had come to New England in 1629, remaining in the

²² STC 18485; *Transcript*, 1544-1640, IV, 201, May 21, 1630; Sabin, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 550; *Diary of John Rous*, edited by Mary Anne E. Green (London, 1846), 53.

²³ STC 5854, 5855; Sabin, *op. cit.*, V, 18; John Cotton, *Gods Promise to His Plantation*, Preface.

²⁴ STC 25770; *Transcript*, 1544-1640, IV, 213, June 27, 1630.

environs of Boston until 1633, when he returned to England. His narrative, written in a vigorous and polished style, was designed to arouse enthusiasm among prospective settlers. He proposed to inform them of conditions in the new world, relating its topography, climate, natural products and general conditions. "Information for a Journey at sea, and what to carry . . . for our use at hand" was imparted to the emigrants. In his introduction Wood cites the superiority of his work to others in the field: "[I] dedicate the mite of my endeavours to my more credulous, ingenious and less censorious countrymen for whose sake I undertooke this work; and I did it rather because there hath some relations heretofore past the presse, which have beene very imperfect; as also because there hath beene many scandalous and false reports past upon the country, even from the sulphurious breath of every base ballad-monger."²⁵

Wood's *Prospect* apparently superseded other "relations heretofore . . . very imperfect," since Bellamy reprinted it in 1635 and 1639. The author, obviously pleased with his work, sent a copy of it to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. On September 3, 1634, the General Court stated: "It is agreed, that there shalbe l[ett]res of thankfulness signed by the Court, and sent to the Countesse of Warwicke, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Wood & others that have been benefactors to this plantacon." Master Bellamy's publication had, like its author, crossed from the Old World to the New.²⁶

The allurements of the Massachusetts prospect may have been somewhat dispelled by the publication of Philip Vincent's *True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Salvages; With the present state of things there*. This eyewitness report, composed by a former Cambridge student and traveler, Philip Vincent, was issued jointly by Bellamy and Na-

²⁵ STC 25957; *Transcript, 1544-1640*, IV, 286, July 7, 1634; Sabin, *op. cit.*, XXIX, 33; William Wood, *New Englands Prospect: "To The Reader."*

²⁶ STC 25958, 25959; Sabin, *op. cit.*, XXIX, 34; *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853), 128.

thaniel Butter, Bourne's former partner and the most outstanding publisher of news-books and tracts of the bizarre and uncommon. Vincent's *Relation* is a detailed account of the Pequot War and the retaliatory measures of the Puritan braves under Captains Underhill and Mason against the Indians. The narrative, sufficiently bloodthirsty and appalling in content, had such appeal to the public, secure from tomahawks and savage raids, that Bellamy and Butter reprinted it twice in 1638.²⁷

With the increased estrangement between Parliament and the Crown, Bellamy abandoned his publication of Americana until 1646, when he issued the controversial writings of Edward Winslow, whose *Relation* and *Good Nevves from New England* had engrossed the reader of Old England over two decades earlier. Samuel Gorton, a free-thinker and political agitator who was wont to give frequent thanks that he had not been "bred in the schooles of humane learning" and therefore had not been misled by heathen principles, visited the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies. The leaders of the Massachusetts Plantation found, however, in the teachings of Samuel Gorton twenty-six blasphemies and expelled him from their communities. In self-justification Gorton composed *Simplicities Defence against Seven Headed Policy*, an attack upon the "seven headed church government in New England." The wrath of the colonial elders was aroused, and Edward Winslow was dispatched abroad to defend New England's conduct toward Samuel Gorton. From Bellamy's press in 1646 emerged *Hipocricie Unmasked*, an answer to Gorton's criticism of New World theocracy, in which the author, Winslow, denied his "manifold slanders and abominable falsehoods." The sheets were re-issued by Bellamy three years later with a new title-page, *The Danger of Tolerating Levellers in a Civill State*.²⁸

²⁷ STC 24758-24760; Sabin, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 568, 569.

²⁸ Wing, *op. cit.*, G1308, W3037, W3035; *Transcript*, 1640-1708, I, 263, Feb. 22, 1646; Sabin, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 538, 537.

Before the appearance of this second edition Winslow had become involved in another New England controversy. The Massachusetts Bay Colony had denied the right of suffrage to dissenters, thus disenfranchising two prominent nonconformists, Robert Child and Samuel Maverick. Disturbed by this intolerance, John, brother of Robert Child, assailed the Massachusetts attitude in his *New England's Jonas Cast up at London*. The work likewise disparaged Winslow's *Hipocricie Unmasked*, and the aggrieved defender of colonial rights retaliated with his own defense, *New England's Salamander*, issued by Bellamy in 1647.²⁹

Bellamy's general publishing activity had slackened considerably toward the approach of the mid-century. He was, however, to issue another four books by prominent New England authors. In 1647 he printed *The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared in Two Treatises* by "Mr. John Cotton Teacher of the Church at Boston in New England." Cotton had sent his manuscript from Boston to his friend, the English divine Nathaniel Holmes, who undertook its publication and wrote the preface. "Here (Reverend Brethren) is presented unto you in print, that very copie, which the worthy author . . . sent together with his letter under his own hand unto me. His honouring me therein (upon my real account) deserved his request, that I would assist the Press, which with the greatest diligence opportunity put into my hands I have performed." Holmes's high estimate of Cotton's work was endorsed by John Bacheler, Licenser of the Press: "The worthy name of the Reverend and Learned Author of this Treatise (which with delight I have perused) is a sufficient argument to perswade, not onely to the reading of it, but also to a beliefe and expectation of something excellent therein."³⁰

A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline by "Thomas Hook-

²⁹ Wing, *op. cit.*, C3851, W3038; Sabin, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 539.

³⁰ Wing, *op. cit.*, C6469; *Transcript*, 1640-1705, I, 284, Jan. 12, 1647; Sabin, *op. cit.*, V, 23.

er, late Pastor of the Church at Hartford upon Connecticott in New England" bore Bellamy's imprint. Hooker's treatise was issued posthumously, and contains a preface by the editors, Edward Hopkins and William Goodwin. Apparently, two years earlier, Hooker had sent abroad a copy of the manuscript which appears to have been lost. After his death the editors undertook the publication of the original text. Attesting to its authenticity, Hopkins and Goodwin stated: "Had the judicious Author lived to peruse the Copy now sent, the work would have been more compleat, and perhaps some additions made in some parts thereof. We have little more to say at present, but to let the Reader know, that nothing is added to, or taken from the Author's primitive copy for the substance of it."³¹

Thomas Shepard was minister of the Gospel at Cambridge, New England. In 1648 his *Clear Sunshine of the Gospell Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New England* illumined for the patrons of John Bellamy the conversion of the heathen redskin. Four years later Bellamy published his last book associated with the affairs of the New World. William Pyncheon, who had journeyed to Massachusetts with John Winthrop, had abandoned the original group to found the town of Springfield. In 1650 he had published the *Meritorious Price of Redemption*, whose ideas proved inconsistent with the accepted view of atonement. Pyncheon's book caused considerable colonial consternation and was publicly burnt in the Boston market-place. The author, considerably disturbed by the religious intolerance of New England, returned to London in 1652. The *Jewes Synagogue* by this religious fire-brand was issued by Bellamy shortly after his return.³²

As the publisher of the writings of the fathers of Pilgrim

³¹ Wing, *op. cit.*, H2658; *Transcript*, 1640-1705, I, 284, Jan. 12, 1657; Sabin, *op. cit.*, VIII, 422, cites two different editions of Hooker's treatise dated 1648; Thomas Hooker, *A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline* (London, 1648), Preface.

³² Wing, *op. cit.*, S3109; *Transcript*, 1640-1705, I, 284, Jan. 3, 1647, Sabin, *op. cit.*, XIX, 422; Wing, P4309; Sabin, XVI, 152.

and Puritan ideology, Bellamy remained the accepted London representative for the circulation of their histories and the doctrine of their heirs. It would be interesting to trace the history of the manuscripts written by the New England leaders across the sea to Bellamy's London premises, and to disclose the actual relationship between the colonial author and the Cornhill stationer. There can be little doubt that the early publications of the writings of Teelinck, Ainsworth and Robinson are to be attributed to Bellamy's association with Henry Jacob and his connection with the Leyden Community. From the scant evidence available it appears that, upon occasion, a London agent brought the manuscripts to Bellamy. The *Relation* of Winslow and Bradford had been sent to Mourt; whereas Cotton's *Way of Congregational Churches* had been dispatched to Holmes. Apparently Mourt and Holmes were familiar with the religious sympathies of John Bellamy. As an affiliate of the Southwark Church, Bellamy did not hesitate to issue the writings of his English and overseas co-religionists. The question naturally arises whether these works would have been published if Bellamy had not for ten years been associated with the Congregational Church. It is quite possible that their circulation might have been delayed until the authors found a stationer who shared their religious sympathies.

It must be remembered nonetheless that during the thirty-odd years of Bellamy's activity other important Americana works were issued by London stationers. None of the books and tracts sponsored by them, however, relates to the Plymouth Plantation. From 1620 to 1651 thirteen London and one Dutch bookseller printed sixteen works in several editions relating to New England affairs. During the same period Bellamy published seven narratives reflecting the history and development of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies. Hence the Master of the Three Golden Lions must be regarded as the outstanding publisher of early New England Americana. For ten years John

Bellamy remained a London "Pilgrim," and as a member of his church he walked with his brethren "in all God's ways and ordinances." In the justification and encouragement of his faith, he brought to the Old World the writings of his fellow-believers whose hopes for the future had been planted in a rich dominion across the sea.³³

Bellamy's contact with the Massachusetts Colonists was not

³³ This survey does not include the purely theological treatises written by the New England divines which were issued by Bellamy and other English publishers. The following works relating to New England were published in different editions from 1620 to 1651 by English stationers other than Bellamy (cited is one work by a Dutch firm):

John Smith, *New Englands Trials*. London, Jones, 1622.

A briefe relation of the discovery and plantation of New England. London, Bladen, 1622.

William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*. London, Stansby, 1624, 1625 (variant).

[Samuel Purchas], *Purchas his pilgrimes*. London, Fetherstone, 1625.

Christopher Levett, *A Voyage into New England*. London, Brewster, 1628.

William Alexander, *The Mapp and Description of New England*. London, Butter, 1630.

John White, *The Planters Plea*. London, Jones, 1630.

Francis Higginson, *New-England's Plantation*. London, Sparke, 1630.

A proportion of provisions needfull for such as intend to plant themselves in New England. London, Clifton, 1630.

John Smith, *Aduertisements for the unexperienced planters of New England*. London, Milbourne, 1631.

Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*. Amsterdam, Stam, 1637.

John Underhill, *Newes from America; or, a new discoverie of New England*. London, Cole, 1638.

Thomas Lechford, *Plain dealing: or Newes from New England*. London, Butter, 1642; a second edition was issued in 1644 entitled *New Englands Advice to Old England* and was in all probability published by Butter.

New Englands First Fruits. London, Overton, 1643.

Nathaniel Ward, *The simple cobbler of Aggawam*. London, Bowtell, 1647. 5 editions.

Edward Bland, *The Discovery of New Brittain*. London, Stephenson, 1651.

Bellamy's publications within this category are:

Robert Cushman, *Sermon* [with] "a preface shewing the state of the contrie and condicon of the inhabitants." 1622.

[George Mourt], *Relation*. 1622.

Edward Winslow, *Good Newes from New-England*. 1624.

William Morrell, *New England*. 1625.

An historicall discoverie and relation of the English plantations in New England. 1627.

William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*. 1634, 1635, 1639.

Phillip Vincent, *A true relation of the late battell fought in New England*. 1637, 1638 (2 editions).

limited to the publication of the work of their spokesmen. When Elder Brewster emigrated to Plymouth, he brought with him his extensive library. During the remainder of his life at Plymouth his collection was augmented, and it included additional books from the press of John Bellamy.³⁴

In 1622 John Pory, the Secretary of Sir George Yeardley, Governor of the Colony of Virginia, visited the Plymouth Plantation, where he was well received. In a letter of appreciation written on August 28, 1622, to Governor William Bradford, he referred to the development of the Colony and likewise to the library of its leader and minister, William Brewster: "To yourself and Mr. Brewster, I must acknowledge myself in many ways indebted; whose books I would have you think very well bestowed on him who esteemeth them such jewels. My haste would not suffer me to remember, much less to beg, Mr. Ainsworth's elaborate work upon the five books on Moses. Both his and Mr. Robinsons do highly commend the authors as being most conversant in the Scriptures, of all others." It is evident that Pory had wished to borrow Brewster's copy of Ainsworth's *Annotations Upon the Five Bookes of Moses* entered by Bellamy and Fisher in the *Register* of the Stationers' Company on July 16, 1622. The copy had apparently been promptly dispatched to Brewster, the former printer of the Pilgrims' secret press at Leyden and a friend of the author.³⁵

An inventory of Brewster's library made after his death in 1644 reveals that twenty-five per cent of his books were printed after 1620, several of them bearing Bellamy's imprint. In addition to the *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses* by Ainsworth the collection includes his version of *Solomons Song of Songs in English* (1624) and his *Communion of Saints* (1641). Among the works of the Congregational and Puritan divines are the

³⁴ For Brewster's library, see H. M. Dexter, "Elder Brewster's Library" in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (1889).

³⁵ *William Bradford of Plymouth Plantation*, edited by Samuel E. Morison, 112, STC 217.

Essayes of John Robinson (1628, 1629, 1638), the *Diocesan's Tryall* by Paul Baynes (1644), the *Christian Synagogue* and the *Pourtraiture of the Image of God in Man* by the Scotsman, John Weemes (1623, 1630; 1627). In contrast to the theological concepts of the reformed writers is *A Discourse and Plaine Declaration of the Svndry Svbtill Practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spain* by Reginald Gonsalvius Montanus, issued by Bellamy in 1625. Books by colonial authors from Bellamy's press are Cushman's *Sermon* and Wilson's *Zacheus Converted*.³⁸

Thus Bellamy served the colonists in a dual capacity. He brought to the homeland their teachings and histories, and returned to them the writings and precepts of the leaders whose society they had abandoned. In his rôle as a publisher Bellamy remained a link between the New and Old Worlds, reminding the one of its heritage and the other of the achievements and hopes of a dauntless, heroic people.

The homeland which the colonists had abandoned was by 1640 thrown into a national conflict. England was on the brink of civil war, and from its cleavage arose parties and factions. Parliament, composed of a large Presbyterian element, controlled the nation. Bellamy was to participate in the national crisis in a three-fold capacity: as a publisher, a soldier and an author.

At the outset of the war Bellamy appears to have belonged to the majority political and religious party, the Presbyterian. He is described as a member of "a very precious select company of Christians who met together in a coursary manner according to agreement, for the mutual comfort and edification of one another by praier, exhortation and the exercise of one anothers gifts in which company none [was] more free frequent and forward than Master Bellamy." The support of the Parliamentary cause by the "forward" Mr. Bellamy is attested by his publication of 126 books, of which seventy per cent represent the writings of the

³⁸ *STC* 2775; Wing, *op. cit.*, A807; *STC* 21112a-21114; B1548; *STC* 25210, 25211, 25217; 11999; 6149; 25770. See Dexter, "Elder Brewster's Library," 45, 194, 118, 52, 103, 116, 5, 307, 385.

Puritan divines, and thirty per cent the acts, official reports and relations on the conduct of the war. Among the theological books and tracts are those by Thomas Edwards, Samuel Torshell, Jeremiah Whitaker and John Trapp. Also included are numerous editions of the writings of the Reverend Doctor John Stoughton of Aldermanbury, London, who, according to a contemporary, "was traduced to be a favourer of New England, and a collector of contributions for those ministers there." As a Northamptonshire man, Bellamy issued the works of local divines: *The Doctrines of the Arminians and Pelagians* and *A Refutation of the loose Opinions* by Thomas Whitfield, "Minister of the Gospel at Bugbrook in Northamptonshire"; and *The Right Separation Incouraged*, *The good old VVay*, *Gods VVay*, *The Season for Englands Self-Reflection* and other treatises by "Thomas Hill of Tychmersh in Northamptonshire." Although he had long since abandoned Congregationalism, Bellamy fulfilled his vow to be "always ready and willing to performe all offices of Christian Love . . . to any of them," and in 1643 he published *The Doctrine of Justification* by the Independent minister, Henry Robrough, Pastor of Leonard's East-Cheape, London, who "with his owne hands administred the Lords Supper to Henry Jacob." Among the official Parliamentary relations are included *A Declaration of the reasons for assisting the Parliament of England*, *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons . . . for the selling of Lands*, *The Several Ordinances of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament*, *Several Ordinances . . . concerning the Sale of Bishops-Lands*. The progress of the conflict is reflected in a variety of reports: *The Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Watford*, *The Humble Petition of the Citizens of Yorke*, *A View of the present Condition of the Three Kingdomes*; *Passages in Devonshire*, *A Relation of the taking of Lincolne* and *The Overthrow of the Scottish Army* by Oliver Cromwell.³⁷

When hostilities began, Bellamy took up arms for Parliament

³⁷ Price, *op. cit.*, 18; Wing, *op. cit.*, E222, E233; T1934, T1935, T1936, T1937, T1938, T1940, T1941, T1942; W1709, W1710, W1711, W1712a; T2037, T2040, T2042, T2046; *Diary of John Rous*, 79; Wing W2006, W2009;

and was made a colonel of a Regiment of Foot representing the ward of Cornhill on the Common Council. Bellamy does not appear to have participated in active service, but rather discharged his patriotic duties in a literary combat in which he challenged subversive and factious elements. In his writings he reveals a sound knowledge of the Bible, English history and constitutional law. He denounced arbitrary government, deplored the national schism, and urged unity. His political philosophy is somewhat cautious, accepting the authority of Parliament and the position of the King in the hierarchy of government.³⁸

As a member of the London Common Council, Bellamy delivered an address on February 24, 1644, in which he trounced the arbitrary behavior of Thomas Atkins, Lord Mayor of London, who had dissolved the Court. In presenting the rights of its members, Bellamy declared that the "Commonalty have the charters, an equall share with the Major and the Aldermen in the Priviledges granted to this City; and if there is, in the choice of some City Officers, the advantage is unto the Commons." Bellamy denied the absolute authority of the Mayor, whose legislative power, he declared, was subject to that of the Court of Common Council which "so farre as unto the making of Lawes be above the Lord Major and Aldermen." With an eloquent literary flourish he appealed for harmony and coöperation: "I could in the way of supplication to your Lordship weep out my owne eyes . . . could I but merely penetrate into the breasts of your Lordship, and those worthy Aldermen, to drawe some Compassion from you in this very nick of time to helpe us save a sinking city, if not a dying Kingdome."³⁹

H2026, H2023, H2027; R1735; Bellamy, *op. cit.*, 23; Wing C4221a; E2038a; E2291; E2292a; T1443; T1529; V366; T2565; T3056; C7136.

³⁸ Plomer, *op. cit.*, 1641-67, 20; Bellamy is not listed in Edward Peacock, *The Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers* (London, 1874).

³⁹ John Bellamy, *A Plea for the Commonalty of London* (London, 1645), 2 editions, 9, 15, 27. This work provoked the anonymous reply: *Bellamius enervatus: or a full answer* (London, 1645). In turn Bellamy wrote *Lysimachus Enervatus, Bellamius Reparatus* (London, 1645), in which he elaborated his political ideology,

Bellamy's political ideology is further indicated in his most important treatise, *A Justification of the City Remonstrance and its Vindication*, in which he condemns any act contrary to the will of God: "When the Kingdome's representative (which is the Parliament) acts in a direct, evident and obvious manner against the expresse will and word of God, then the Kingdome collective are not bound unto them, but ought in duty to dissent from them, if not protest against them." As late as December, 1646, he recognized the invested authority of the monarch: "The two Houses of Parliament . . . with the King who is alwayes in his Kingly power present with them, though in person sometimes (as now) absent from them are those three estates of which the fundamentall constitution of the kingdom is made up, and have in them joyntly, and together all the supreme power of this kingdom, and not any one of those three estates considered apart, and by itself can properly been said to have the whole supreme power of the Kingdom residing in it."⁴⁰

With the decline of Presbyterian fortunes and the control of the government by the Independents in 1648, Bellamy's own political and publishing activity declined. Toward the end of his career he leased his shop at the Three Golden Lions to the London stationer Philemon Stephens, and he appears to have retired to one of his numerous homes in Northamptonshire or Cambridgeshire.⁴¹

After an illness of "the most grinding pains and saddest disturbances," Bellamy died on January 20, 1653, at Cothelstock, Northamptonshire. His funeral services were conducted at

stating that he had been compelled to defend himself in the present work since a copy of *Bellamius enervatus* had been brought to him by an officer of the Mayor. He therefore accepted the challenge, remarking: "I will remain neither a Libeller, nor yet a Counterfeit but a known and true friend to the just rights and Liberties of the Commons." 9.

⁴⁰ John Bellamy, *A Vindication of the Humble Remonstrance and Petition of the Lord Major, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common-Councell Assembled* (London, 1646), 5, 14.

⁴¹ Plomer, *op. cit.*, 1640-67, 172.

Cotherstock by the nonconformist divine and physician Richard Resbury of Oundle, the birthplace of the late master of the Three Golden Lions, London. In his sermon entitled *Pauls Soul Panting For A Better Life*, the Reverend Mr. Resbury recalled the virtues of John Bellamy, who would forever remain a "Pattern to the living," a gentleman "of composure of spirit in all Conditions and Commerce."⁴²

The estate accumulated by the late John Bellamy was a considerable one. He left nine pieces of property in Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon, including houses, freehold lands and farms, to his brother, sisters and their families. In money gifts he bequeathed a total of 218 pounds and an annual annuity of twenty-two pounds to his sister Mary Hodges, derived from estate rentals. To the poor of Oundle and Cotherstock he donated thirty shillings "apeece." To his "cozen" John Bellamy he gave his "red bed with the fether bolster chaires stools and all other Furniture."

Of particular interest are the clauses in Bellamy's will which relate to his trade. To his niece Alice he bequeathed all his "part or interest in the English stocke in the Company of Stationers of London being one hundred and sixty pounds." His cousin, the Lady Elizabeth Bettesworth, inherited his "house and two shops in Pauls Churchyard London the one known or called by the name or signe of the White Lyon in the occupacon of Philemon Stephens stationer the other knowne or called by the name or signe of the Hand in the occupacon of one Robert Barish hosier." Although "sicke and weake in Body" John Bellamy had centered his interest upon his lifelong occupation, his books: "I give all my Bookes one of a sorte to be as a standing Library for the use of the Ministry of this parish of Cotherstocke viz. to Mr. William Mathison the present Incumbent and after his decease to his successours."⁴³

⁴² Wing, *op. cit.*, R1135; Richard Resbury, *Pauls Soul Panting For A Better Life* (London, 1655), 1 f.

⁴³ *The Will of John Bellamie.*

The books inherited by the Reverend Mr. Mathison and his heirs were to remain eloquent testimony to the personality, career and influence of John Bellamy. On the shelves of the Cotherstock Library doubtless reposed the writings of the Presbyterian and Congregational divines, and it is not unlikely that among the many tracts and religious polemics, often of a disputatious and vituperative content, were to be found a *Sermon Preached at Plimmoth in New-England* by Robert Cushman; a *Relation or Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth* by Edward Winslow and William Bradford; *Good News from New England* by the aforesaid Mr. Winslow; *The Humble Request Of His Maiesties loyall Subjects* by John Winthrop, and other works associated with a distant English soil. The publication of these books represented the development of John Bellamy who, for ten years, "covenanted" with his Pilgrim brethren.

John Bellamy remained throughout his lifetime a man of unassailable probity and sincere conviction. His publications were motivated by his religious obligations; his shift from Congregationalism to Presbyterianism marks him not as a man of irresolute decision but rather as a soul-probing Puritan whose conscience determined his faith. As a Congregationalist, Bellamy performed an inestimable service. From the "love and respect" he felt for those brethren whose beliefs had transported them to a remote land, he brought to his press their doctrine and their history. The legacy of the Plymouth Pilgrim and the New England Puritan is one of courage and faith. Their idealism and their moral fortitude were shared by John Bellamy. The landmarks of early colonial Americana have remained for posterity the combined bequest of the New England leaders and John Bellamy, "Pilgrim" publisher of London.

Bibliographical Notes

The Constance Missal and Two Documents from the Constance Diocese

The *Missale speciale Constantiense* is, perhaps, the most disputed product of the fifteenth-century press. It is now generally held to have been printed before August 30, 1468, for on that day Adolf von Nassau, Archbishop of Mainz, proclaimed that the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin¹ was henceforth to be celebrated throughout the archdiocese with the same degree of solemnity previously accorded to the Feast of the Conception. Thus a Mass hitherto celebrated "de consuetudine" would now become one "de praecepto." After that date, no Missal designed for the diocese of Constance (which came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Mainz) could possibly omit this service. And yet the *Missale speciale Constantiense* does not contain the Office for this "summum," though in the Morgan copy (PML 45545) the text is inserted in manuscript. It is self-evident that the Constance Missal could not have been printed after September 1, 1468. But how much earlier did it appear? The followers of Otto Hupp, with whose opinion the present writer concurs, believe the Missal to have been printed about 1450; the other school of thought, as exemplified by that great incunabulist Victor Scholderer,² contend that the book was produced some fifteen years later.

¹ Full details may be found in Eugène Misset, *Le premier livre imprimé connu; un missel spécial de Constance* (Paris, 1899), pp. 16-22. This Mass (Praesentatio Mariae) is celebrated on November 21st. Dr. Victor Scholderer (see note 2) suggests that the Archbishop of Mainz's proclamation concerned the Office for the Purification of the Virgin ("Candlemas," celebrated February 2nd). This Mass is, however, included in the *Missale speciale Constantiense* and is printed, in the Morgan copy of this Missal, on the folios numbered (in an early hand) 19-21.

² See his article "Missale speciale Constantiense," *The Book Collector*, IV (1955), 8-15. The chief studies written prior to 1940 are listed by Aloys Ruppel, *Johannes Gutenberg: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1947), p. 221, and by Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Invention of Printing: A Bibliography* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 187-190, nos. 1458-1482. The more recent discussions on the controversy are noted by Prof. Ruppel, "Darf man die Stadt Mainz noch als Erfindungsort der Druckkunst betrachten?," *Mainzer Kalender 1955* (Mainz, 1954), pp. 33-48 [reprinted as "Kleiner Druck der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft Nr. 57, 1955"], in Otto W. Fuhrmann, *Über die Auflagenhöhe der ersten Drucke* (Mainz, 1956), *passim*, by

It was hoped that, in attempting to establish the true date of printing of the Constance Missal, one line of approach might be through archival research—but the archives of the city of Constance yielded no useful evidence whatever. Nor did the archives of the diocese prove much more fruitful, no reference to *any* printed Missal being found among the surviving records of the diocese between 1440 and 1480.³

One document does, however, provide an interesting sidelight and such evidence as a parallel circumstance may supply. On May 7, 1476, Ludwig von Freiberg as Bishop of Constance forbade the provost and chapter of Schönenwerd, under pain of excommunication, to purchase certain Breviaries for the Use of Constance recently printed.⁴ It is probable that the Bishop issued his order because the text of the Breviaries referred to in his interdiction was not sufficiently accurate for religious purposes. The only known Breviaries to which the Bishop's order might have applied were the three editions printed by an unknown South German press and described by the *Gesamtkatalog* under nos. 5315-5317. All these were certainly printed before 1470, for the copy of the third edition now in the University Library at Freiburg im Breisgau is thus dated by the rubricator. Of the first printing, the *Gesamtkatalog* observes that this is a "sehr fehlerhafte Ausgabe"! Thus it is evident that copies of a Breviary printed before 1470 were still available for purchase in 1476—and were offered for sale in such numbers that the Bishop, it appears, was compelled to protect his clergy from these erroneous texts.

The Missal, on the other hand, is the holiest and most essential book of the Roman Catholic liturgy and should consequently provide an absolutely correct text. Nevertheless, one of the peculiarities of the Constance Missal is the fact that its text is replete with errors. It has recently been pointed out that the *Missale abbreviatum*,⁵ the abbreviated version of the

Friedrich Adolf Schmidt-Künsemüller, "Rudolf Blums Interpretation des Prozesses Fust gegen Gutenberg," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1955, pp. 22-32, and in the present writer's review of Blum's book in *PBSA*, XLVIII (1954), 283-288.

³ *Regesta Episcoporum Constantiensium. Regesten zur Geschichte der Bischöfe von Konstanz* (Innsbruck, 1886-1931).

⁴ The original document (preserved in the Staatsarchiv at Solothurn) states that: *inhibeatis et interdicatis, quibus et nos interdicimus et inhibemus, ne ipsi aut eorum aliquis libros horarum canonicarum Const. noviter pressos emant aut comparent seu emat sive comparet nisi auctoritatem nostram intervenisse constat.* (*Regesta*, V, 66, no. 14680).

⁵ Compare Franz Unterkircher, "Das Missale abbreviatum von St. Paul," *Das Antiquariat*, X (1954), 237-240, and Misset, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, for the Constance Missal. Dr. Scholderer states in his article cited above: "There is no certain evidence that the Missal ever included a canon cut of the Crucifixion; two of the three

Constance Missal printed at the same time and with the same type, contains no fewer than 60 misprints in its 72 folios, a considerable number even if the slips are minor. The Constance Missal, with its 384 pages,⁶ has a correspondingly greater number of misprints and errors, not all of which by any means are minor. One may point, for example, to the attribution to the Gospel according to St. John of a passage actually in St. Matthew! As an "impure" text, this was precisely the sort of work against which Cardinal Nicolaus de Cusa inveighed after he became Bishop of Brixen in 1450. If the Constance Missal was still for sale in 1476, it seems strange that Ludwig von Freiberg did not also take steps against its dissemination

known copies have a stub in its place and the cut in the remaining copy seems to have been inserted at a later date. On the other hand, a *Missale abbreviatum* which is the work of the same press and shows the type in the same state possesses, in the only known copy, a cut dated about 1450-1465 by the experts. . . . Such a date [1465 for the printing] would also, incidentally, square tolerably well with the period assigned to the canon cut in the *Missale abbreviatum*." Dr. Scholderer did not point out that this cut too is a *later* insertion. The impression in the St. Paul volume is a "rubbed print" (Reiberdruck) which could not, accordingly, have been printed into the book at the same time as the printing of the text. Rubbed prints appeared chiefly in the half-century 1425-1475, so that all one can conclude from this illustration is that the addition of the figure must have been done before 1475 at the very latest. See Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (Boston & New York, 1935), I, 5, and Paul Heitz, *Christus am Kreuz* (Strassburg, 1910), p. 21, no. 43. In the Morgan copy of the Constance Missal, the canon cut is a woodcut pasted on the verso of the blank leaf preceding the Canon. It is dated "um 1430" by Emil Major, *Holz- und Metallschnitte aus öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen in Aarau, Basel, Romont, St. Gallen, Zürich* (Strassburg, 1918), pp. 8-9, no. 3. The Morgan woodcut is probably a late product of the earlier style (with flowing lines) and it was presumably cut before 1450, possibly *circa* 1440. It is difficult to believe that a devout owner would have inserted an old impression into his new book, that is, after a lapse of fifteen years with the consequent attrition and soiling of the impressions, especially since this period marks a change in the style (with cross strokes) of cutting and a corresponding shift in taste. Woodcuts were also used to illustrate manuscripts, and we are told that "this method of illustration is not uncommon in the middle of the fifteenth century and represents a period of transition" (Karl Kup, "A Fifteenth-Century Girdle Book," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, XLIII [1939], 477).

⁶ One similarity between the Missal and the Psalter has not been stressed before. According to Sir Irvine Masson, *The Mainz Psalters and Canon Missae 1457-1459* (London, 1954), pp. 9-15, Fust and Schoeffer produced a long issue (of 175 folios) and a short issue (of 143 folios) of the 1457 Psalter, most of the pages of both issues being printed from a single setting of type. The Constance Missal too has a long (*Missale speciale*) and a short (*Missale abbreviatum*) form; of the 144 pages in the latter, 97 were printed from the same setting of type as was used for the printing of the former. (Cp. Ruppel, *Gutenberg*, p. 157—with the date of 1450 for the Reiberdruck of the St. Paul volume.) Is this a purely accidental coincidence at an early date in the history of printing—or can one see the same directing hand in the production of both the Psalter and the Missal?

at the same time that he took action against the sale of the Breviaries.

A ready explanation for the silence on the part of the Bishop of Constance in this respect might be that the Constance Missal had not been printed so late as 1465—and that, having been issued much earlier, no copies then remained for sale in the diocese. Nor is it strange that no earlier interdiction exists for the *Missale speciale Constantiense* if it was printed about 1450, as we believe.⁷ The Bishop of that day (Henricus de Hoewen) would probably have been as ignorant as most of his contemporaries in regard to the new invention and would not have known of identical (or, at least, semi-identical) printing. If one Missal was faulty, it would not necessarily follow (in his eyes) that any other copies had the same faults even if offered by the same bookseller. At the time of the death of Johann Fust (probably on October 30, 1466), at least a dozen books had already announced when and where (or by whom) the volumes had been printed, and a considerable body of “unsigned” productions had been issued. By that time, the capabilities of the printing press must have been fairly well and widely known to educated persons throughout the valley of the Upper

⁷ Dr. Scholderer suggests that Hupp's hypothesis requires a “long interval between Missal and Psalter.” But if Hupp's theory is correct, the Missal was printed about 1450 and the printing of the Psalter was begun well before the start of the lawsuit which culminated in the “Helmaspergersche Notariatsinstrument” (November 6, 1455). Many students now believe that work on the Psalter commenced about 1452; accordingly the interval between the printing of the Missal and the Psalter shrinks to from two to a maximum of five years. But in Dr. Scholderer's reconstruction, the type would have to be dated as pre-1457 (because of its early state) and the Missal was printed only in 1465, an interval of at least *eight* years. Again Dr. Scholderer suggests that the book was perhaps produced by some “craftsman who had been employed at Mainz in the office of Gutenberg or Fust and Schoeffer and had possessed himself of matrices of the Psalter type or of some of the type itself. There is no need to suppose that he obtained it by theft or fraud; the owners may have been quite willing to dispose of material for which they had no immediate use.” This must refer to type or matrices of the *early* state of the Psalter type, for the owners did find use for the perfected font well into the sixteenth century (for example, it appears in the 1516 Psalter, Proctor 9859); one would expect that they would have required matrices to renew the font from time to time. Is it likely that a fifteenth-century craftsman would be in possession of sufficient capital to enable him to purchase a complete font of metal type and make no use of it for eight (or more) years thereafter? The absence of the contraction for “versus” in the Missal font has also been explained on the basis that the “craftsman” failed to obtain this character along with the rest of the Psalter type and that, lacking “the skill required for cutting a fresh punch,” he was unable to make good this deficiency. But then how can one explain the presence in the Missal font of the second variety of the letter “r,” a character which does *not* occur in the Psalter font? If the hypothetical craftsman could supply one character, he ought to have been able to supply the other! Another explanation would be that the usefulness of the “versus” abbreviation had not previously occurred to the printer and that he had therefore failed to cut this character before he began to print the Missal.

Rhine. If faulty copies issued by a press were still available for sale in 1467 (perhaps, as in the case of the Breviaries, some seven to ten years after printing) and the Bishop knew of it, one would expect to find an interdiction, comparable to that for the Breviaries, amongst the diocesan records of this date. The fact that no such record exists may suggest that by this date all copies had already been sold and that the *Missale speciale Constantiense* must consequently be assigned to a date earlier, let us say, than 1459.⁸

Another record, however, gives further grounds for believing that there was no printed *Missale speciale Constantiense* for sale by 1471.⁹ In that year, the prioress of Kloster Mariaberg announced that her convent had ordered a Missal to be *written* for them, since they required such a book for a newly founded altar.¹⁰ The convent does not appear to have

⁸ The history of the beginnings of printing in Europe is often based upon the reported testimony of the printer Ulrich Zell, as set forth in the "Cologne Chronicle" (Cologne, Johann Koelhoff, the younger, August 23, 1499). If Koelhoff reported accurately what Zell had told him (which may or may not have been the case), then the art of printing was invented in Mainz in 1440 by Johann Gutenberg, a native of Strassburg. The first printed book was a Bible, although certain grammars by Aelius Donatus had been produced even before that in the Netherlands. From Mainz, printing spread to Cologne, then to Strassburg, and afterwards to Venice. Now this statement contains a number of considerable inaccuracies. Gutenberg was not born in Strassburg but in Mainz. Between 1434 and 1444 Gutenberg was a resident of Strassburg, so that if printing was invented in 1440, as Zell is said to have asserted, then it could not have been invented by Gutenberg in Mainz. The art of printing was introduced into Strassburg and Bamberg *before* it came to Cologne, and Subiaco and Rome (as well as Eltvil and Augsburg) could boast of presses earlier than the one operated by Johannes de Spira in Venice. Must one therefore accept as Gospel truth Zell's statement that the Bible was really the first book ever printed—or was this just a bit of pious "wishful thinking"? And if one accepts this statement, must one not also believe in the story of the Dutch "prefiguration" which would deprive Gutenberg of some of the glory of having invented this new "holy" art? One cannot very well treat part of Zell's statement as evidence beyond possible question—and brush aside the demonstrable mistakes as the regrettable slips one might expect from the confused memory of an elderly man.

⁹ By 1472, printed books must have been quite common in the diocese of Constance, and the profession of printing a fairly commonplace one in the Rhine valley. The new art had by then been introduced into five countries (if we include the Netherlands), and books had been produced, according to Proctor's *Index*, in no fewer than 24 different cities by 41 separate presses.

¹⁰ *Regesta*, IV, 412-413, no. 13790, original in the Staatsarchiv in Stuttgart, summarizes this as: "Priorin und konvent des klostere Mariaberg, an der Lochat gelegen, bitten alle geistlichen, den priester, der für sie sammelt, gütig aufzunehmen. Sie haben ein messbuch schreiben lassen und bedürfen für den neu gegründeten altar noch zur ausstattung der zuwendungen. Sie werden dadurch der ablässe teilhaftig, die sie von neunzehn kardinälen, erzbischöfen und bischöfen erhalten haben. Geben 1471."

been very wealthy and required an Indulgence to provide the funds for the further equipment and adornment of the altar, so that the possible economies which a printed Missal might have offered them could have been important. Why did they not purchase a printed *Missale speciale Constantiense* which would have provided those Masses most essential for the diocese? Could it be that there was none for sale—though it seems likely, in view of the experience of the Breviaries, that copies would still have been available in 1471 if the Missal had been printed so late as 1465? One might again infer, from the lack of any mention of it, that the Missal having been printed much earlier was now “out of print.”

An argument based on inferential evidence may not be as conclusive an argument as one might wish to present—but in the absence of any other evidence whatsoever, such considerations as are set forth here may bear some weight in attempting to establish the true date of printing for the elusive *Missale speciale Constantiense*.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum

Between Thursday, May 7, and Thursday, May 28, 1835, Messrs. Sotheby sold in London a large portion of the library of Dr. Georg Kloss of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and published a sale catalogue.¹ Among the quartos sold on the sixth day (Wednesday, May 13) was the following item:

no. 1406. Monumenta ordinis Fratrum Minorum.

(Lugduni, Joh. Cleyn, 1504)

iv, 164, 839.²

This book, like so many other of Dr. Kloss's, was bought by the British Museum, where it now stands at 1124. g. 3. No one can tell on what grounds it was attributed to the press of Cleyn at Lyons, since the earlier bibliographers had maintained an uninterrupted silence about its typographical origin. It is presumably the edition referred to in the *Bibliotheca Bigotiana* of 1706;³ it is next mentioned by Maittaire in 1733 in his section

¹ *Catalogue of the Library of Dr. Kloss, of Franckfort a M., Professor . . . which will be sold by auction, by Mr. Sotheby and Son . . . on Thursday, May 7th, etc. 1835.*

² *Ibid.*, 102. The figures at the end of the line refer to the book's entry in Panzer's *Annales typographici*, 1796. Panzer in his turn refers back to Maittaire.

³ *Bibliotheca Bigotiana, etc.* (Parisii, 1706), p. 102, no. 855.

on "Editiones veteres incertae aetatis";⁴ it is included in the Bibliotheca Thottiana of 1795,⁵ and, as already noted, by Panzer in 1796. From none of these early authorities do we learn more than that it is a quarto, *sine loco et anno*.

The Lyonnese imprint was adopted by the first edition of the British Museum's general catalogue, and the book has since found its way into the *Short Title Catalogue of French Books printed from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum*, where, however, the attribution to Cleyn was removed, and the date altered from 1504 to c. 1510.⁶

A close examination of the book soon reveals that it is not likely to have been printed in France. Four gothic types are used, one of which is a very typical German textura, and there is a copious admixture of Lombard capitals. The Museum copy has an early German provenance and is in a contemporary Netherlandish or North German binding of blind-tooled brown calf. One is therefore compelled to seek the types among Proctor's facsimiles of early sixteenth-century German presses; and sure enough, they are revealed to be identical with those used (including the Lombards) by Melchior Lotter at Leipzig. The smallest type used is a gothic text type measuring 64 mm. for twenty lines. It is true that Lotter's smallest type, introduced in 1499 and used well into the following century, measures only 60 mm. according to the British Museum *Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth Century*⁷ and Proctor's *Index* for 1500-1520; but in a number of books printed between 1510 and 1515 this same type-face had certainly been recast on a larger body, so that it now measured 64 mm.⁸—a fact which Proctor did not always record. So far as they can be measured from their appearance in a single line at a time, the other types in the *Monumenta* also agree with those used by Lotter after 1500.

When we attempt to date the book, an unforeseen complication arises. The volume consists of four parts, totalling 514 leaves, and having four sets of signatures as follows: A-C⁶D-G⁸HI⁶; AB⁸CD⁶; Aa-Qq⁸Rr⁴; aa-zz AA-MM⁸NN OO⁶. The second part consists of a table of contents for the whole work, and at the end bears a printed register which agrees

⁴ M. Maittaire, *Annales typographici . . . ad annum MDCLXIV*, tom. 1, pt. 1 (Amstelodami, 1733), p. 790.

⁵ *Catalogi Bibliothecae Thottianae tomus septimus*, Hauniae, 1795, p. 153, no. 269. Here it is said to be in two volumes, "sine anno et loco." It is apparently not mentioned by Graesse or Brunet.

⁶ London, 1924, p. 187.

⁷ Pt. III, London, 1913, p. 649.

⁸ As, for instance, in the Polichius of 20 February 1512 (Proctor 11346) and the Polichius of 31 May 1514 (Proctor 11355).

with the actual make-up of the book except in one detail: it omits mention of quire Rr. On closer inspection this gathering of four leaves turns out to have a particular importance. The rest of the book contains printed dates in the text up to but not after June 16, 1506 (see sig. Qq7 verso); but the four leaves of sig. Rr contain further documents dated August 21, 1508, and April 13, 1509. Leaf Qq8 has been torn out, it would seem for a deliberate purpose. Is it not possible that quire Rr was printed some three or more years later than the rest of the book? A further point of evidence is that Rr contains a fourth type (Wittenberg letter) which does not occur elsewhere in the book.⁹ If our hypothesis is correct, the imprint should now read: Melchior Lotter, Leipzig, c. 1506-1510. Printed in parts.

The title-page, which has been missing for a very long time, has been replaced by an attempted manuscript facsimile in a German hand, giving on the recto the title and on the verso the prologue; there is also a note above the title which reads: "Desideratur hic vnum folium, quod in Libro bibliothecae Conuentus Oliuarum habetur." This presumably refers to the Franciscan monastery "Zu den Oliven" which was founded at Cologne in 1580. On 2a is written "Liber conuentus S. Mariae de Angelis Brúlae," which again refers to a monastery at Brühl, a few miles southwest of Cologne.

The book is rubricated throughout, and many initials are illuminated in a design of red and blue paint in the typical North German style. We may thus conclude that this particular copy never left Germany until its inclusion in the Kloss sale.

The contents of the book, however, appear at first sight to indicate that it was printed primarily for use in Spain. For the most part it consists of constitutions and papal privileges for the Franciscan Order in Spain, especial emphasis being laid on monasteries at Salamanca, Toledo and Valladolid in the first section, and at the end are the so-called "Constitutiones generales Barchinonenses." There can be little doubt that it was reprinted from the edition published by Juan Porres at Salamanca in 1506. The many ecclesiastical dignitaries named in quire Rr include Alfonso de Fonseca, Patriarch of Alexandria and Archbishop of Compostella, who died in 1508. The authors of various sections of the book include Antonio de Rincan, Antonio de Medina, and Francisco de Ledesma.¹⁰

⁹ "The Wittenberg letter with M48 is first found in the hands of Lotter at Leipzig in 1508." (A. F. Johnson, "The Classification of Gothic Types," *The Library*, March 1929, p. 363.)

¹⁰ A. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano*, tom. 5 (Barcelona, 1926), p. 235.

The 1506 edition of Juan Porres, which in some examples was bound in two volumes, was followed in 1511 by an expanded version of the first part only, produced by the same printer at Salamanca.

How do we explain the phenomenon of an edition containing so much Franciscan material for apparent use in Spain being printed at Leipzig? A little Franciscan history is necessary. The so-called "Constitutions of Barcelona" were the result of the general congregation held in that city in 1451 by members of the order from various countries, who met to draw up new statutes and to attempt to bring unity into the order throughout Europe.¹¹ These statutes are printed in the last section of the Leipzig edition, a fact which was clearly unknown to Richard Howlett when he wrote in his preface to the second volume of the *Monumenta Franciscana*: "The statutes of the Observants printed in this volume were collected in the general chapter of Barcelona in 1451, and are probably the earliest collection of their regulations which has been presented in type. They exist in this country in a single manuscript copy preserved in the Bodleian Library."¹²

Howlett makes no reference to the Salamanca or Leipzig editions. It would be outside the scope of this article to enter into a discussion of the manuscript tradition on the continent of the Statutes of Barcelona. Suffice it to say that the apparently Spanish predominance of the book is misleading, and that its contents applied equally to the order in all countries of Europe. There can be no question of an edition printed at Leipzig for export to Spain. We know that there was a Franciscan monastery at Leipzig as early as 1420,¹³ and it may be that this community was responsible for arranging with Lotter the publication of a new edition of the *Monumenta*.

DENNIS E. RHODES

The British Museum

¹¹ Fr. de Sessevalle, *Histoire générale de l'ordre de Saint François*, pt. I (1209-1517), tom. 1 (Paris, 1935), p. 203.

¹² *Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. II, London, 1882, p. xxiii. The text of the statutes is printed *ibid.*, pp. 81-119. On pp. xlviii-xlix Howlett writes: "The 'Abbreviatio Statutorum' of the Observant Franciscans is taken from an Irish MS. in the Bodleian Library (Rawl. c. 320). [The manuscript is dated 1482.] I cannot find that any statutes of the reformed order of so early a date have previously been printed. Statutes of the Observants printed on vellum at Ingoldstadt in 1534 are found in a rare little volume in the British Museum." If he found this book (shelf-mark C.26.g.11) in the B. M. catalogue, it is curious how his eye could have missed the entry for the Leipzig *Monumenta*.

¹³ Sessevalle, *op. cit.*, 535. Lotter seems to have printed a preponderance of theological works after 1500.

Bueve de Hantone

(*An Addition to Gesamtkatalog 5716-17, Italian editions with supplement*)

Bueve de Hantone, ital. Venice: Maximus de Butricis, 18 June 1491.

4to. 56 leaves. Signatures: a-g⁸, 2 columns. 40 lines. Type 2:80/1R
Title: BVOVO DANTONA || *leaf 2aα, line 1, sign, a ii:* [] Iefu
 chrifto che p lo peccato || il q̃l fece eua prīa n̄ra madre || tu fufi ī fu
 la croce conficato || ... *leaf 2aβ, line 1:* col caro fuo marito a tal
 latino || ... *leaf 56aα, line 1:* e finibaldo fenza dimorare || ... *Ends*
leaf 56bβ, line 21: al uoftro honor finito e il funerale || di buouo
 gran fignor imperiale || BVOVO DANTONA || Venetiis Impreffum
 p Maximum || de butricis Papienfem M.CCCC- || LXXXXI.die.xviii.
 Innii || Regiftro a b c d e f g tutti quaderni ||

Undescribed. GW.5717, produced by the same printer, January 5, 1491, is printed in Gothic type on 44 leaves and has 48 lines. No comparison with the only reported copy of GW.5717 (British Museum) or the equally rare edition of 1487 (GW.5716) has so far been attempted.

Literature: The *Gesamtkatalog* refers to the critical edition and study of the Old French text, "Der festländische Bueve de Hantone," edited by A. Stimming and published as Volumes 25, 30, 34, 41-42 of the *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, and in connection with the Italian version particularly to Vol. 42 (1920), pp. 332 *et seq.* Neither Stimming nor Hermann Paetz *Über das gegenseitige Verhältnis der venetianischen, der franko-italienischen und der französischen gereimten Fassung des Bueve de Hantone* (Halle, 1913), takes specific notice of the early printed editions.

Copy: PU (Inc.6110.5.) Purchased June 20, 1952.

Provenience: "A. Klein 1807."

RUDOLF HIRSCH

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Sir Simonds Buys A Manuscript

On January 25, 1647/8, while he was still a member of Parliament for the borough of Sudbury, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, the wealthy antiquarian and book collector, purchased a Greek manuscript of the *Dogmatica Panoplia* by the twelfth-century Byzantine theologian, Euthymius Zigabenus, from a London merchant by the name of George Rookes. The certificate of sale is preserved among the D'Ewes papers which form part of the Harleian collection in the British Museum, and runs as follows:

Whereas I George Rookes of London Marchant haue Receiued of S^r Symonds Deux the summe of Twelue pounds for a Greeke Manuscript called Panoplia Dogmatica Euthymij Zygabeni, w^{ch} Belongeth to my Brother John Rookes Marchant, w^{ch} Booke I haue sould & Deliured to the said S^r Symonds Deux for the said Twelve pounds, & Doe hereby promyse that the said S^r Symon shall quietly Jnioy the same to his owne vse: I hauing had Authority from my said Brother for the sale thereof:

Witnesse my Hand this 25 th January 1647

Mr. Geo: Rookes

Witnesse Thomas Vincent¹

The purpose of this Note is to call attention to the considerable amount of £12 which Sir Simonds was willing to expend. Possibly he could have obtained a copy of the Venice edition of the *Panoplia* (1555; British Museum shelf No. 3627. ff.) or the Lyons edition of 1556 (British Museum shelf No. 847.c.14) for much less. The work is of some bulk: the modern edition in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (tom. 130), runs to some 630 pages when allowance is made for the Latin translation and *scholia*.

Marjorie Plant has estimated that during the sixteenth century the cost of a manuscript book production was ten times higher than that of hand-printed work. She notes that it cost 8d. to have a letter written in 1570, and that in 1584 the churchwardens of St. Michael's, Cornhill, paid 5s. to the "scolle Mr. of Polles for wrytyng of the masse in Englysh and ye benedicts," when a printed communion book a few years later fetched but 4d.² It is known that the average cost of printed matter in England from about 1550 to 1640 was ½d. a sheet.³ Binding, at the purchaser's pleasure, would add to the total cost.

Evidence as to the fees which a scribe might obtain for his services is not abundant. In an earlier period, before he had been to some degree supplanted by the rapid development of the printing press, the fee appears to have been around 2d. per "leaf." About 1468, a scribe by the name of William Ebesham submitted a bill for certain books which he had written and illuminated for Sir John Paston. The second item reads as follows:

¹ British Museum MS. Harley 374, p. 291. The great collection of D'Ewes manuscripts, which are listed in Harley MS. 775, was acquired for Sir Robert Harley in 1705 by Humphrey Wanley, Harley's librarian.

² *The English Book Trade* (New York, 1939), pp. 243-244.

³ See Francis R. Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book Prices," *The Library*, fifth series, IV (1950-1951), 83-112. Continental prices were comparable: in 1576, Plantin in Antwerp was charging one sou for six sheets; see George Haven Putnam, *Books & Their Makers During the Middle Ages* (New York, 1896), II, 279.

Item, for the tretys of Werre in iiij books, which conteyneth lx. levis aftir ij^d
a leaff . . . x s.⁴

To revert to the *Panoplia* manuscript: at the rate of 2d. per leaf, it would have cost well over £5 for transcription alone, to say nothing of the cost of binding. Naturally, we know nothing of what profit the London merchant may have made on the deal, but we do know that Sir Simonds would pay handsomely for manuscripts—he was a veritable *helluo librorum*. Perhaps he was not disappointed. If he ever found the time in his busy life to read the *Panoplia*, he might have been interested by its account of the heresies of the Massilians and the Bogomiles, and by its quotation of excerpts from such obscure writers as Anastasius of Sinai.

ROBERT H. BOWERS

University of Florida

"Robin Hog" Stephens: Messenger of the Press

In her recent paper on Robert Stephens,¹ Leona Rostenberg has presented the activities of the notorious Messenger of the Press until July 16, 1697. For this period the only additional remark I shall offer is that Stephens' reappointment to office under William III came extremely early in the new reign, so that it was announced in the *London Gazette* only three days after William had met with his first Parliament.

But Stephens' public career did not come to an abrupt end in 1697. Entries in *The Calendar of Treasury Books*² make it clear that warrants were being issued to him as Messenger of the Press as late as 1712; and numerous references to him in newspapers and pamphlets show that he was a well-known figure during the reign of Queen Anne.

Mr. Laurence Hanson has made it abundantly clear that Stephens was an unusually effective agent, and that the hostility to him was in large part an expression of his victims' fear or resentment.³ But two additional

⁴ See James Gairdner, *The Paston Letters* (London & Exeter, 1904), V, 3; and Curt F. Bühler, "Sir John Paston's *Grete Booke*, a Fifteenth Century 'Best Seller'," *MLN*, LVI (1941), 345-351. Data on book prices are assembled in H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers: 1475 to 1557* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 229-234.

¹ *PBSA*, XLIX (1955), 131-152.

² *Calendar of Treasury Books*: XII, 256, 259; XIV, 194, 204; XV, 189, 191, 229; XVI, 144, 382, 414; XVII, 324, 974; XVIII, 177, 350; XIX, 109, 338, 409; XX, 283, 309; XXIII, 61; XXIV, 515, 594; XXVI, 373, 540.

³ *Government and the Press, 1695-1763* (London, 1936), pp. 36-38.

points merit consideration. At a time when the government of the day sought to pursue a policy of moderation (as from 1704 to 1710) Stephens seems to have served the interests of the High-Church faction alone. And he was accused of being ready to neglect even this service, when sufficiently bribed to do so.

Let us take up the second point first. We need give little attention to the slurs on Stephens' integrity which appear in the anonymous publications of the day. But John Dunton, apparently the only Dissenter who spoke kindly of Stephens, and who called him "honest" in what seems to have been dubious praise, referred to him in terms which could hardly be taken to imply anything far short of bribery:

if I printed a Book that had no *License*, I took such care to *dazzle* his eyes, that he could not see it; . . . if I have given Stephens too loud a character, it is so naturally the effect of those *conniving* favours I have received from him, that to have *lisped* in his praise had been very ungrateful.⁴

A more explicit statement came from Defoe, who wrote to his patron Robert Harley (who was then employing Stephens) charging that Stephens had repeatedly accepted bribes—a statement which could easily have been controverted if it had been untrue:

I am Concern'd to See your Orders betraid and Buffoon'd. That Wretch Stephens Makes the Governmt perfectly Impotent in These Matters and The Book-sellers and he Together make sport at your Orders.

Indeed Sir I write This without private Design and ill will to the Man. His being a Rogue was Usefull to me, and I brib'd him allways to my Advantage, But in this Case they act undr his patronage.⁵

More significant than his acceptance of bribes was Stephens' devotion to a special minority interest. John Tutchin was undoubtedly wrong in his contention that Stephens had no official authority for his actions, but he was certainly justified in his claim that Stephens protected Jacobites and punished Dissenters and Whigs:

I'll unravel to you, and all the Protestant Gentlemen of *England*, this Mystery of Iniquity. This *Robert Stevens* is a Fellow that was employ'd as Messenger of the Press in former Reigns: He was the Tool of *Papists and Tories*; and in those Days when *Packing of Juries* were [*sic*] in fashion, if *Jefferies*, Father *Peter*, *Burton* and *Graham*, *Brent*, or any of that Gang, had a mind to take off a Man under pretence of Law, *Robin* never wanted a Jury and Evidence to ac-

⁴ *The Life and Errors of John Dunton* (London, 1818), I, 253-254.

⁵ *The Letters of Daniel Defoe* (ed. G. H. Healey, Oxford, 1955), p. 92.

comply it; and many times, when his Evidence fail'd him either thro' their *Ignorance* in the Cause, or the *Squemishness* of their *Consciences*, Robin turned Evidence Himself, and was often so unfortunate as to Swear beyond his Knowledge, for which he had several times been Implicated for Perjury. These indictments at large have been Printed and Published in the *Flying-Post*. And in a Weekly Paper Publish'd about Twenty Years ago, call'd, *News from Parnassus*, you have a very good Account, I don't say of his *Honest Actions*; and therein he is dignify'd and distinguished by the Title of *Don Roberto Esteven del Porco*. He is a Person that has not the good Word of one Honest Man in *England*, hardly of the greatest Knave; for by his Superlative Vices he became so very Scandalous, that he was turn'd out of all employment in the late Reign; and Tho' he Impudently, and to the Disreputation of the present Government, pretends himself now to be a *Messenger in Fee*, it is abominably false: The Reputation of the present Ministry is such as cannot admit of the Service of a Person of such a Character; and I dare engage, upon enquiry, he had no Authority from the Government to prefer this Bill against me; . . .

However he industriously thrusts Himself into Business, and is the *Common Plague of Mankind*; he's a *Newgate Sollicitor*, or an *Old-Baily Minister*; tho' 'tis much wonder'd a Person so Scandalous should be Suffer'd to disturb and perplex a *Court of Justice*. When you brought me, not long since, an Account of the *Popish-Club* in *Black-Fryars*, he became a Sollicitor for the *Papists*, and carry'd the Orders of their Club to the *Secretary of State*, and, as he said, satisfy'd the Secretary that the People of the Club were Innocent Persons; and then he brought the said Orders to me, which I never Read, but told him *I Read Acts of Parliament, and not Club-Orders*, which howsoever Innocent, the Persons ought to be Prosecuted according to the Laws of *England*. At this very Sessions he was busie in Clearing the Persons taken some time since in *Romney-Marsh*, as coming from *France*: So that Honest Robin had two good Causes: one to *Clear the Enemies of our Country*, and the other, to *find One of Her Majesties best Friends Guilty*.

It seems indeed very strange, that a Person should be *Indicted for writing against the Papists*; but 'tis no great Wonder when Robin Stevens is the Prosecutor; for he never, as I could hear of, Prosecuted one Enemy against the Government: He is so open handed as to let the *Exorbitant Grants* of King William slip thro' his Fingers, tho' in it is contained the highest Reflections on that great Prince, by whose Fatherly Care, and Inimitable *Courage and Conduct*, we now enjoy the *Liberties and Priviledges* of our dear Country; and also in it is contained the highest Treason against our most *Gracious and Lawful* Sovereign Lady that it is possible for a Pen to be guilty of: I say, he could let this Book slip thro' his Fingers, and yet could be so close Fisted as to catch a single half Sheet of *Paper* written only in *Defence of Her Majesties Right*, and the *Authority of Parliament*.⁶

⁶ *The Observer*, II, 28 (July 10-14, 1703).

During the earlier years of Queen Anne's reign pamphlets and newspapers make frequent reference to "Robin Hog," often with some allusion to his extreme fatness, his gout, his age, or his views regarding Church and State. But Robert Stephens is to be traced most clearly through his pursuit of his most famous quarry, Daniel Defoe.

Early in 1703, while Defoe was in hiding after *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* had caused a furore, a hostile pamphleteer suggested that he may be *Rewarded Openly*, if he does not prove too hard for *Robin Hog*, and leave his poor Printer and Publisher in the Lurch, whom he would have the World think him so Sollicitous for: . . .⁷

Defoe was said to have escaped from some Queen's Messenger (whether Stephens or another) by leaping from a window when he was first taken up for questioning near the end of December, 1702.⁸ Thereafter the pursuit of Defoe was entrusted to younger and more active men than "Robin Hog." But when Defoe was finally surprised and captured on the evening of May 20 or the early morning of May 21, it was Stephens who was called in to search him for papers, and who thereby discovered the manuscript poem satirizing the knighting of David Hamilton, the Queen's man-midwife.⁹ According to the City of London records appended to the Oyer and Terminer rolls for February 22-24, 1702/3, Robert Stephens was one of the three men who signed the indictment on which Defoe was convicted in the following July.

After Defoe was released from Newgate (November, 1703) and taken into government service under Secretary of State Harley, the relations between Defoe and Stephens became strange indeed. Hare and hound were now serving the same ministry in the same chase. Harley continued his usual policy of allowing men of all shades of opinion to believe that he represented their special interests; no doubt Stephens felt confident that he was expected to arrest, on any pretext, an influential journalist who was both a political liberal and a Dissenter. Defoe could only appeal to Harley from time to time to suggest that Stephens should not be allowed to wreck his undertakings in Harley's own interest.

This game of hare and hound can be traced in the *Review* and in Defoe's correspondence. On September 28, 1704, Defoe told Harley how Stephens had obliged him to interrupt his political tour and to return to

⁷ *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters . . . Consider'd* (1703), p. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁹ *The Republican Bullies* (1703), p. 3.

London for two days.¹⁰ In the *Review* for October 7 and 10 he inserted brief advertisements denying that he had fled from justice, and explaining that he had been in the country on lawful business. In a longer advertisement, printed in the *Review* for November 4 and again on November 7, he denied the charge that he had published anything offensive to the government, and he made an explicit reply to Stephens:

And further, having been inform'd, That Mr. Robert Stephens, the Messenger, had Reported, that he had an Order, or Power from the Secretaries of State, to Stop and Detain the said Daniel de Foe, and that he made several Enquiries after him to that purpose.

The said Daniel de Foe, hereby gives Notice, That as soon as he came to Town, and before his Application to the Secretary of State, as aforesaid, he went, and in the presence of sufficient Witnesses, spoke with the said Robert Stephens, the Messenger, as he calls himself, of the Press; and offering himself into his Custody, Demanded of him, if he had receiv'd any Order, to Stop, Take, or Detain him; and he denyed that he had any such Order, notwithstanding he had most openly, and in Villainous Terms, Reported before, that he would Detain him if he could find him; and had in a Scandalous manner made Enquiries after him.

Throughout 1705 Defoe was still smarting from the injury he had received from the Messenger of the Press. In his *Review* for January 13 he introduced a letter from a supposed countryman who declared, "*I bought a Hog (no kindred of R--- S---s).*" In *The Little Review* for July 6, he published four queries from a supposed correspondent, with answers from his imaginary "Society":

1. Why *Robert Stephens* is call'd a *Hog*? 2. Why by the Name of that Beast above all Others? 3. Whether he be not one of those Swine that escap'd drowning, when the Devils were in 'em? 4. Why the rest of the Devils did not leave the other Hogs to shift for themselves in the Sea, and all of them enter into him for their better Security? 5. *and lastly*. If this be Granted, Whether he is not the Devil of a Hog?

...

As to the Person meant here, the Persons concern'd in this Paper, have receiv'd, perhaps, more Injuries from him, than the Complainers, but have always thought it below them to take any Notice of him.—

As he is a Person Employ'd by the Government, they think the exceeding Indecencies offer'd him should be forborn with respect to the Government who Employs him.

¹⁰ *The Letters of Daniel Defoe*, p. 58.

Two things they think more Just and more Suitable to the Persons agriev'd, *viz.*

If he is, what you represent him, Why do you not either Prosecute him at Law, or Complain to his Superiours.

If half what is alledg'd against him be True, we are satisfy'd, the Government being rightly Inform'd of it, would Dismiss him the Service, as a Person too Scandalous to be Employed.

If half of that half be True, the Law would Tear him out of the Hands of the Government, and Dispose of him in a Styte suitable to such a Hog.

But really Gentlemen, while you neither Sue him for Illegal Actions, nor Complain of him to his Superiours for Irregular Actions, the Society cannot but Determine the Facts are not as Charged, or his Accusers Unaccountably to blame.

As to Invidious Names, Reproaches, and Stigmatizing Characters, they are below that Temper which Wise Men ought to keep, not worth your while, and do the Man no harm.

Nay, the Government ought to think him the better Servant, and that he does his Business with more Exactness, by how much the more People rail at him, but never bring his Proceedings to Examination.

The Society therefore, not at all in kindness to him, but in Common Justice, Unanimously Condemn the Treating him with any such Terms as Hog and Swine, and must conclude in his favour, till such other Methods are us'd with him, as may Legally entitle all Men to believe him that very Person common Fame represents him.

Three days later Defoe told Harley that Stephens was making an embarrassing arrest of people who should not be prosecuted, and on the following day he complained to Harley that Stephens was favoring the escape of the printers of the notorious High-Church *Memorial of the Church of England*.¹¹ As late as November 16, 1706, he repeated in his *Review* the same general account he had given of Stephens' dishonest treatment of him in September, 1704.

Defoe might refer contemptuously to Stephens as "the Messenger, as he calls himself, of the Press." But more seriously he acknowledged that Stephens was employed by the government in office, and that he must be regarded as a servant of that government. In a letter to Secretary Harley on July 10, 1705, he referred to him specifically as "your Messenger Stephens." But by April 10, 1707, Stephens was apparently so far out of favor with the moderate ministry of the day, or his salary had been allowed to fall so far into arrears, that the Bishop of London was called on

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 91.

to intercede with Harley for the restoration of Stephens to active pay if not to active employment:

The bearer Robert Stephens desired me to give you his character. He is the most useful man in the place of messenger of the press that can be found, for nobody understands so well where and when to find out prohibited books. Indeed since whiggish and Commonwealth books have been so much in fashion, that malicious sort of people have so run him down that he has been able to do little service; but if you please to give him encouragement and get him his salary I am sure you will find him very serviceable.¹²

On December 11, 1712, a money warrant for £60 was issued to Stephens for his claim for salary of £50 per annum and his allowance of £10 for charges and expenses in the year ending at Christmas, 1710.¹³

Probably Stephens was able to collect from the Tory ministry the claim which had remained unpaid after the fall of Godolphin in 1710. The rise and fall of the old Messenger of the Press during Queen Anne's reign was dependent on the rise and fall of the High-Church faction which he served.

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*The Date of Publication and Composition of
Sir William Alexander's Supplement to Sidney's "Arcadia"*

There has been difference of opinion among scholars about the date of first publication of Sir William Alexander's supplement to the third book of the revised version of Sidney's *Arcadia*.¹ In his *Memorials of the Earl of Stirling and of the House of Alexander*, the Reverend Charles Rogers writes: "In 1613 Sir William Alexander published a completion of the third part of Sir Philip Sidney's romance of 'Arcadia,' which with the initials W. A. will be found in the fourth [a reference to the 1613 edition of Sidney's romance] and subsequent editions of that work."² Rogers' statement was accepted by the sketcher of Alexander's life for the *Dictionary of*

¹² *Portland MSS.*, IV, 400.

¹³ *Calendar of Treasury Books January-December 1712*, XXVI, 540.

¹ Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (1567?-1640), of Menstrie, Scotland, poet, dramatist, statesman, colonizer, was a favorite of James I and Charles I.

² Two vols. (Edinburgh, William Paterson, 1877), I, 46-47. The 1613 edition of the *Arcadia* was actually the sixth edition, though miscalled the fourth on the title page.

National Biography, who admits his debt, and by Robert M. Fergusson in a biography of Alexander Hume, who, though he repeats Rogers' statement almost verbatim, does not admit his debt.³

Rogers had reason for his statement of the 1613 date, though it has proved to be wrong. Attaching a study of the contents of the various editions of the *Arcadia* to his photographic facsimile of the Quarto Edition of 1590, Dr. H. Oskar Sommer reports a freak copy of the 1613 edition in the Huth Library, the Huth Catalogue making it clear that there are a number of leaves inserted.⁴ He quotes from the Catalogue as follows: "The extra leaves ¶ and * in sig. Ee appear to have been introduced from the Supplement by Sir W. Alexander, first printed in 1621, to assist in completing the text, which is, notwithstanding, still imperfect and inconsequent, having been left so probably in the original MS. In the copy of edit. 1605, described by Hazlitt, twelve additional leaves were inserted with a similar object from the same source."⁵ Probably Rogers had seen such a freak copy of the 1613 edition as the one described in the Huth Catalogue—perhaps this very one—and concluded that here was the first publication of Alexander's supplement.

T. P. Harrison, Jr., in an article entitled "A Source of Sidney's *Arcadia*," reaches even farther back and states that Alexander's work appeared in the Folio Edition of the romance in 1593.⁶ Harrison offers no reason for his conclusion, and it is hard to find one. The title page of the edition does not mention the supplement; nor does Sommer, or anyone else, report a freak copy, with the pages of the supplement fraudulently inserted. It is possible that Harrison misinterpreted the wording of the title page, which follows: "The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now since the first edition augmented and ended. London. Printed for William Ponsonbie. Anno Domini. 1593."⁷ Harrison may have taken the "augmented and ended" as a reference to Alexander's supplement rather than to the last three books of the original version of the romance, as was intended.

³ *Alexander Hume, An Early Poet-Pastor of Logic, And His Intimates* (Paisley and London, Alexander Gardner, 1899), p. 141.

⁴ *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1891), "The Original Quarto Edition (1590) in Photographic Facsimile, with a Bibliographical Introduction" (p. 22).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Texas University Bulletin, Studies in English*, No. 6 (1926), 55.

⁷ Quoted from Albert Feuillerat, ed., *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, ed. of 1590 (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1912), p. 522 (Notes, where Feuillerat quotes title pages of all folio editions).

Sommer's report on the contents of the editions of the romance, Arundell Esdaile's *List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740*,⁸ and Albert Feuillerat's quotation of the title pages of folio editions,⁹ all reveal that Alexander's supplement was first mentioned on a title page of the romance in the edition of 1621: "The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the fift time published [actually the seventh], with some new Additions. Also a supplement of a defect in the third part of this History. By Sir W. Alexander. Dublin, Printed by the Societie of Stationers. 1621. Cum Privilegio."¹⁰ And Sommer reports the supplement as on pages 327-346 of this edition.¹¹

Now, it is difficult to believe that such big news as the inclusion of a supplement to this very popular romance would not have appeared on the title page of the first edition to include the supplement. In other words, it is difficult to believe that the 1621 edition, containing as it does on its title page first notice of the inclusion of Alexander's supplement, is not the first to publish it. But, actually, assumption is no longer necessary. In the process of collating editions of the romance, word for word—in order to list variant readings—Feuillerat unwittingly, since his interest was wholly in Sidney's work, reveals conclusively that the 1621 edition was the first to contain Alexander's supplement. In collating editions he comes in time to the point of hiatus between the abruptly dropped revised version in the third book and the editorial appending of the last three books of the original version. There he records the editors as saying mainly (in the 1593, 1598, 1599, 1605, and 1613 folio editions), "How this combate ended [between Anaxius and Zelmane, in the midst of which the revised version breaks off], how the Ladies by the comming of the discovered forces were delivered, and restored to *Basilus*, and how *Dorus* againe returned to his old master *Damaetas*, is altogether unknowne. What afterward chaunced, out of the authors owne writings and conceits hath bene supplied, as foloweth [a reference, of course, to the appending of the last three books of the original version]."¹² But in the 1621 edition and the editions thereafter he records the editor as saying, after a note of tribute

⁸ London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East and Blades, 1912.

⁹ *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ Quoted from Feuillerat, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

¹¹ P. 23.

¹² *The Last Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, Astrophel & Stella, and Other Poems, The Lady of May*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1922), p. 350.

to the "worthy Author": "... here we are likewise utterly deprived of the relation [by Sidney's hand] how this combat ended, and how the Ladies by the discovery of the approaching forces were delivered and restored to *Basilus*: how *Dorus* returned to his old master *Dametas*: all which unfortunate mayme we must be content to suffer with the rest."¹³ But this, Feuillerat records, is followed by the statement "A supplement of the said defect by Sir W.[illiam] A.[lexander]," which is followed by the supplement itself, which in turn is followed by these words: "From hence the History is againe continued out of the Authors owne writings and conceits, as followeth."¹⁴ And there follows the appending of the last three books of the original version.

So, in work of another objective, by a very careful scholar, it is proved beyond question that the first publication of Alexander's supplement, at least in an edition of the romance, was 1621. And students of Sidney, and Alexander, may now correct their welter of dates for the publication of the supplement.¹⁵

Sommer alone states that the supplement was also published separately at Dublin in the same year, that is, 1621.¹⁶ He gives pertinent information about the separate publication as follows: "'A Supplement of a Defect in the third Part of Sidney's *Arcadia* by William Alexander, Earl of Stirling.' [This he is seemingly quoting from the title page.] Dublin, 1621. Folio. (Reprinted in the ed. of 1722 and ff.)"¹⁷ Referring to Sommer's comments, one of Alexander's biographers, Dr. Thomas H. McGrail, writes:

This [the so-called separate publication] probably consisted of extra leaves from the main edition of *Arcadia*, intended for presentation to friends. Among those to receive a copy was Drummond, who bequeathed it to the University of Edinburgh in 1627. [Here a note is appended referring the reader to *Auc-*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ In fairness it should be mentioned that, in addition to Sommer, at least the following scholars have dated the publication of the supplement as 1621: W. W. Greg, in *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (London, A. H. Bullen, 1906), p. 149; Malcolm W. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1915), p. 234; and Ernest A. Baker, ed., *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1907), pp. xxiii-xxiv. However, it is clear evidence of the existing uncertainty regarding the date that Baker in his *History of the English Novel* (London, Witherby, 1929), II, 88, switches to 1623.

¹⁶ Baker, *Arcadia*, p. xxiv, concurs; but he is admittedly following Sommer.

¹⁷ P. 43.

torium Bibliothecae Edinburgensae Sive Catalogus Librorum quos Guilielmus Drummondus ab Hawthornden Bibliothecae. Edinburgh, J. Ballantyne and Company, 1815, p. 2.] Rather bewildering [continues McGrail] is the reference to Alexander as Earl of Stirling, a title that was certainly not bestowed until Charles I's coronation in Scotland in 1633. Since Sommer mentions the separate work as having been reprinted in the 1722 edition of *Arcadia*, it may be that he based his description of the original title-page upon what he thought was a reproduction or facsimile in this issue, but which actually had been altered to include the title of Earl of Stirling.¹⁸

So there actually was at least one copy of the supplement separately bound, as the record of Drummond's copy attests. McGrail may be right in suggesting—upon what basis, he doesn't say—that this copy, as well as others, "consisted of extra leaves from the main edition of *Arcadia*," bound together as gift copies for friends. The dearth of information regarding a separate publication gives his suggestion strength, as do the errors in Sommer's account of the so-called separate publication. McGrail points out the error of the presence of the title Earl of Stirling on the title page of a book supposedly published in 1621, when the title was not conferred before 1633; and he is probably correct in suggesting that Sommer took his information from the title page to the supplement in a later edition of the romance, thinking it a facsimile of the title page of the so-called separate publication of 1621. But the later edition of the romance was seemingly not that of 1722, which Sommer avers the separately published supplement was in, and which McGrail accepts without question, because evidence of a 1722 edition seems non-existent. Sommer, in his description of editions, does not mention one of 1722, nor does anyone else.

Whether the supplement was separately published seems indeterminable at this time; but, even if it was, there seems no question about the date of publication. It was 1621, the same date as that upon which the supplement was first published in an edition of the romance.

After the clearing away of misconceptions regarding the date of first publication of the supplement, the date of composition can be established within fairly limited bounds. Esdaile reports that in the *Stationers' Registers*, iii.594, "B. M. (c.40.1.6)" there is record of the supplement's having been licensed to Barrett on August 31, 1616.¹⁹ This fixes a *terminus ad quem*. Since the edition of the *Arcadia* preceding this date, that of 1613,

¹⁸ *Sir William Alexander* (Edinburgh and London, Oliver and Boyd, 1940), p. 46.

¹⁹ P. 127.

did not contain the supplement,²⁰ it seems likely that the work was written between 1613 and August 31, 1616.

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²⁰ Mention has been made of at least one freak copy in which the supplement has been fraudulently inserted.

Book Reviews

MUNBY, ALAN NOEL LATIMER. *Phillipps Studies Nos. I-IV*. Cambridge, At the University Press [New York, Cambridge University Press], 1951-1956. 4 Volumes. Plates. 8¾ x 5½ inches. Vol. I, \$2.00; Vol. II, \$2.75; Vol. III, \$2.75; Vol. IV, \$4.50.

Mr. Munby, Fellow and Librarian of King's College, Cambridge, has for ten years been patiently edging his way through a vast accumulation of "Phillipps MSS," not the widely publicized collection assembled a century ago, but a second mass of personal papers only now released to document these *Studies*. If the first group once distinguished Sir Thomas Phillipps as the greatest collector of manuscripts, the second immediately enrolls him with the greatest of eccentrics—one so dominated, and dominating, that his sway extended from printers' devils to prime ministers, from the savants of Harvard to the swindlers of Mount Athos. With all who had anything to do with manuscripts, good and bad, old and new, genuine and fake, he was a persistent correspondent, hounding those who had something to sell, addressing scholars interested in his purchases, negotiating with agents before every auction, maneuvering around his competitors, and fending off his creditors. Yet with all this activity, enough to consume all the resources of any ordinary individual, there was for Phillipps still enough time, and certainly the inclination, to publicize through catalogues and in his own papers the resources of his collection, to direct the business of his family and his printing office, to patronize the artists Catlin and Glover, and always to meddle in the affairs of others, particularly of those charged with keeping parish registers, preserving governmental archives, and operating the British Museum. Thus for every important document in this collection, and every manifestation of Phillipps' interests outside it, there is a lively spate of letters, all disclosing some aspect of the remarkable personality Mr. Munby brings before us.

To exhibit this material in some coherent way Mr. Munby has been ruthlessly selective, discarding at once everything not directly pertaining to the several phases he wished to consider, organizing the remainder in

three classes, bibliographical, biographical, and literary (with the last category again divided chronologically into three sections), and then, as each group came up for study, supplying from other sources—catalogues, directories, the private journals of Halliwell and Madden—the necessary background for the scattered references in the papers. Thus each successive *Study* is sharply defined and self-contained, a most desirable feature in a serial extending over a number of years, but one not without defects when all the parts are considered together. The few deficiencies to be noted must therefore be regarded as inherent in the scheme, in the shifting emphasis from one study to another, and not by any means a reflection on Mr. Munby's brilliant achievement.

Study *No. I* relates exclusively to the catalogues which Phillipps had privately printed at his Middle Hill Press. Prepared at various dates and dispatched a few sheets at a time to various individuals, these represent a most interesting problem to which the editor, in the competent manner characteristic of all his work, brings every available resource, including full descriptions, facsimiles of titles and initial pages, and an annotated list of extant copies. Though attention here is properly directed to the catalogues of the manuscripts, the editor allows several pages to those listing Phillipps' printed books, a collection amounting to "perhaps forty thousand volumes" (an estimate later raised in *No. IV* to "probably more than fifty thousand"). Since Phillipps aspired here to an end he could never attain with manuscripts, that of having "*one copy of every Book in the World!!!!*", and did succeed at least in acquiring many of the greatest significance, some readers will regret that space could not permit, in this or later numbers, a more extended account of these treasures.

Like its predecessor, Study *No. II* is again an exclusive analysis, now of Phillipps in all of his concerns except those of author, editor, or collector. These extraneous activities are essentially of two kinds, those against Puseyites and Catholics, all exhibiting an animus that may be judged apart from Phillipps' other interests, and those with his family and immediate associates, all relating in some measure to the one fixed goal in his life. Without some reference to Phillipps in his all-demanding rôle as a collector it is therefore difficult to assess from this study alone, much less to extenuate, the maltreatment of his first wife (who, after all, had no interest in manuscripts), his three daughters (who were useful only in transcribing them), and his son-in-law, James Orchard Halliwell (who stole them). Had this division of material been enforced throughout, it might also have denied us some insight into Phillipps' affectionate dispo-

sition toward his second wife (who for some years had money available for manuscripts), the generous offer of his eldest daughter to various persons (all of whom collected manuscripts), and the gift to his infant godson (Planta's *Catalogue of the Cottonian Manuscripts*). Of these several testimonials to Phillipps' generosity, however, Mr. Munby wisely defers an account of the last two until the third study, where they may be properly recognized as aberrations symptomatic of Phillipps' "vello-mania." In this second study, though, Phillipps is so effectively stripped of his one great passion that he becomes (as in fact he was?) a schizophrenic, constantly swerving into view, now as a ferocious tyrant, now as a simple ass. For one of such tremendous momentum every eccentricity must be to an extreme, and Mr. Munby does not hesitate to trace the outermost limits of Phillipps' inanities.

While refusing to intervene in the text, Mr. Munby does express the hope, in the preface to this study, that later numbers will "do something to efface the impression of the present part." Had circumstances permitted him to continue on the grand scale originally designed, this expectation might have been fulfilled, but with a contraction from twelve to six monographs all papers not essential to his purpose were thrust aside. Instead of possibly five or six volumes devoted to the "formation and use of the Phillipps Library" we therefore have only two (III and IV) on the "formation": two volumes which necessarily exclude all the more favorable aspects of Phillipps' vello-mania (including the "numerous literary projects" and the "scores of distinguished scholars" mentioned on the dust-jacket) and limit the studies, with few exceptions, to the persons directly involved in forming the library, the one group most harassed by his excessive demands and thus the least disposed to commend him. Again, as in *No. II*, the limitation intensifies the portrait, and again, it would seem, not without some distortion. Now that Phillipps is in his proper element, undeterred by family and other impediments, how are we to explain or extenuate the vicious manner in which he abused his printers, deceived his competitors, insulted his dealers, and abrogated his contracts? The justification, perhaps, lies not so much in the historical apologetics Mr. Munby offers in the concluding chapter as in the monument which by any means, however unscrupulous, Phillipps was determined to construct, primarily for his own glory, it must be admitted, but also for the benefit of scholars. Of those who had access to his library, either in person or through correspondence, only a few (notably Curzon and Sparks) are allowed more than a page; a few more as "old friends" (e.g., Walter Sneyd and Charles

Young) are given a single line; all others are merely strung together in three summary footnotes (III, 107; IV, 41, 93). This last group, of some sixty-three scholars distinguished in all fields of learning, might well have testified to Phillipps' reputation as a benefactor of scholarship, or at least have discountenanced somewhat the vehement denunciations of Sir Frederic Madden which appear on every other page. From Madden's journal, the one account not inhibited by the niceties of public discourse, Mr. Munby extracts a continuous expression of contempt which, in the absence of any opposing view (other than the one quoted from Curzon at IV, xvi), is finally accepted as a true estimate of Phillipps and his work. And yet the feeling persists that despite this eminent paleographer others equally qualified could have redressed the balance.

By now it will be apparent that these monographs have so entranced me that for every note I would demand a page, for every page a chapter, for the studies we are now to have the twelve once promised and more! Even within his present bounds Mr. Munby has provided for the nineteenth century not only a biographical dictionary of practically everyone who bought, sold, or collected a book, but an encyclopedia on the customs of the trade in England and abroad. In this storehouse lie the beginnings of many additional studies, some of which Mr. Munby has already recommended to other scholars. Of his own *Studies* Mr. Munby is now preparing *No. V* on the dispersal of the Phillipps library and *No. VI* on subjects of special interest, with a list locating all MSS that can now be traced, and a general index. Those who look at any one number of this series will not be content until they have read all six; and many, I suspect, will demand even more than these.

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CARY, GEORGE. *The Medieval Alexander*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956. xvi, 415 pp. 9 plates, 5 figs. 10 x 6 inches. \$9.50.

This most fascinating study of Alexander the Great is a valuable addition to the enormous body of literature devoted to this Worthy. Cary's volume confines itself to the problem: "What did people really think about Alexander in the Middle Ages?" The answer to this query cannot be simple, since it largely depends upon which sections of medieval society—whether the moralists, theologians, preachers, encyclopedists, secular writers, or whatever—were doing the thinking. Cary examined the ques-

tion from these several points of view, which often makes reference to a single incident of the Alexander legend a cumbersome matter. Thus, the story concerning Alexander and his liberal gift is set forth on page 86 and the footnote refers to four other places where the same anecdote is again discussed. Incidentally, on page 360, the *Fiore di virtù* version is noted with the quotation: "Alessandro rispose: 'Io non guardo a quello che si convegna ricevere, ma quello che a me si conviene.'" The omission of the word 'dare' makes the correct interpretation of the anecdote a matter of some doubt." The infinitive "dare" apparently is omitted in the edition (Naples, 1870) here used, and it is also not found in edition D of my study of the *Fiore* (PBSA, xlix [1955], 315-339), but this necessary word is present in the other early printings that have been consulted. This again points up the danger of depending for factual statements upon any single edition of the *Fiore di virtù*.

Although the amount of research which went into this volume is enormous and the "bibliography" extends to no less than sixteen pages, there are some unfortunate omissions in the discussion of the sources. Thus, Ezio Franceschini's critical edition of the text which he called *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum* is cited but his valuable special study of the sources is not listed (*Memorie della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, cccxxvii [1930], ser. vi, vol. iii, fasc. v, pp. 354-399). Even a cursory glance at either of these works should have explained the true nature of the *Dicta Alexandri* (p. 60—class II. 4. d) and that this text is the ancestor of the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*. True enough, the Latin text is noticed elsewhere (p. 22—class I. 4. b) but without title, and no printed edition or discussion of it is cited there. The present writer's edition of the *Dicts and Sayings* (Early English Text Society, OS 211, 1941) is also wanting; this, too, would have explained the sequence and editions of the texts, supplied still another English version (unknown to Cary), and would have identified the "Dublin Fragment" (p. 60—II. 4. e). Cary stated that this text "has not yet been studied or assigned to any textual tradition," whereas I pointed out (pp. 358-359) that the Dublin Alexander story was simply a copy made from some Caxton edition. Similar condensations of Caxton's text are included in Plimpton MS. 259 (ff. 79-86) and in a Newberry MS. (f. 36, Ry 20), where parts of the story of Alexander are given. A number of French texts with Alexander incidents unknown to Cary are described on pp. xvi-xviii of my *Dicts*.

Despite the long list of examples given by Cary in illustration of the medieval conception of Alexander, one can still make additions to indi-

vidual incidents. For example, some accounts of the philosophers at the tomb of Alexander not cited in the book under review are noted in my *Dicts* (pp. 363-365), including the French verses found in several manuscripts, Hoccleve's lines in the *De regimine principum*, and the reference in Le Grand's *Le livre des bonnes meurs*. I did not note, nor found in the bibliography or index, any reference to George Ashby's *Dicta philosophorum* nor to the *Convertimini*, usually attributed to Robert Holcot.

The Medieval Alexander was the Fellowship dissertation submitted by George Cary to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1950. Within three years, the young author had died, and the present work has been edited and seen through the press by Dr. David Ross. On the whole, this is a truly excellent book—one any scholar would have been happy to claim as his own. It is, indeed, a sad loss to medieval studies that so original and capable a scholar as George Cary was prevented from fulfilling that high promise which this book amply sets forth. Apart from those slight criticisms offered above, the concise summary of the chief sources of the Alexander legends and the discussion of the various traditions current in the Middle Ages will be extremely useful to all bibliographers and book-lovers.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

The Earliest Directory of the Book Trade by John Pendred (1785). Edited by Graham Pollard. London, The Bibliographical Society, 1955. xxiv, 90 pp. 9 x 7 inches. Members only.

Pendred's trade directory, the first to be issued in England or, so far as is known, in any other country, was designed to be, as its title indicates, "The London and Country Printers, Booksellers and Stationers Vade Mecum," a handbook for "Lottery-Office Keepers" and others wishing to advertise in newspapers, booksellers desiring outlets in the provinces, and journeymen looking for jobs in the book trade. To satisfy these varied interests the compiler offered, first for London and then for country towns, a series of alphabetical lists identifying all persons conducting a business in any way connected with the trade, including such odd occupations as brokers, fellmongers, paper hangers, and card makers. Then follows a list for Ireland, here restricted to letterpress printers, and an account of London, country, and Scottish newspapers. From such a miscellany much is to be learned, and as Pendred is the only convenient source

for a great deal of this information, all bibliographers of the period will be grateful to Mr. Pollard for reprinting the unique copy at the Bodleian.

Our gratitude to Mr. Pollard, however, is not to be measured by this service alone, for his scholarship here, as always, ranges far beyond the subject immediately within view. The better to appreciate this pioneer work and the peculiar features of the directories which followed, Mr. Pollard has provided a considerable introduction and appendix, the one surveying Pendred's career, his source material, and the reliability of his work, the other representing in various categories the lists and directories which will be useful in further studies of the trade. To assist anyone contemplating such a venture it may not be amiss if this reviewer supplied, mainly from the Harvard collections, notes on a few things beyond the reach of Pendred's editor. These addenda are reported in an order and style conforming to that adopted in the text.

[pp. xiii-xiv] Aside from the several publications described, John Pendred was the author of two earlier pamphlets, both of them catchpennies found with others in the last of four volumes once belonging to Joseph Ritson. Though not separately catalogued, this collection, under general titles provided by Ritson, has the Harvard call number 25276.6.5*. The title of the one pamphlet runs:

THE | Jeffer's Gimcrack; | OR, | Two-pennyworth of FUN. | CONTAIN-
ING, | [in 2 columns:] Merry STORIES, Smart REPARTEES, Droll SAY-
INGS, Youthful PRANKS, Ridiculous BULLS, Funny JOKES, &c. | OF
THE | ENGLISH, IRISH, SCOTCH, and WELCH | MANUFACTURE. |
To which are added, | A Variety of CONUNDRUMS, TOASTS, | SENTIMENTS,
HOB-NOBS, &c. | The Whole adapted to | The Capacities of YOUTH, as well as
INFANTS Six | Feet high. | And calculated for the Entertainment of Persons of
both | Sexes, of whatever Age, Size, Sect, or Denomination. | [rule] | MUL-
TUM IN PARVO. | [rule] | Compiled (with ADDITIONS) by JOHN PEN-
DRED. | [double rule] | YORK: | Printed by Somebody, fold to any Body,
may be read | by every Body, excepting Nobody, either when he | is in Com-
pany or when *Nobody's with him but him-* | *self alone at Sea.* 1772.

On the verso of the title is an "Advertifement. To all Friends round St. Paul's [London]" in which F. Jackson of York lists this same work, describes five others (all of which seem to be at a price and on matters foreign to the Pendred genre), and announces the speedy publication of the work next identified.

THE | COCKNEY's | Miscellany. | CONTAINING, | I. The Picture of a
Drinking- | Club; in which is intro- | duced several Songs, and *all* | the CRIES

of LONDON, | verbatim as they were cry'd | by the numerous Ambula- | tors,
&c. of that great | Metropolis. | II. The *Englishman's* Politi- | cal Catechism:
A Dialogue | between *Tom* and *Jack*. | [rule] | By JOHN PENDRED. |
[rule] | YORK: | Printed by *F. Jackson*, in *Peter-gate*. | [Price ONE PEN-
NY.]

It is curious that both of these pamphlets, though intended primarily for London readers, should have been issued in York, a city not otherwise associated with Pendred's activities. With these and one or two other exceptions, all 91 of the tracts in Ritson's set are imprinted Bow or Aldermary Churchyard, London.

[pp. xviii-xix] As judged by (a) *The London Directory for 1783*, (b) the notes on Pendred in Ellic Howe's *The London Compositor*, pp. 43-50, and (c) the printers' notices filed in 1799 and later years (see Pollard, p. 54), Pendred's account of the London printers contains the following inaccuracies. (Unverified references are preceded by a query.)

Cock. ? Properly Cox (b).

Frys and Couchman, Queen St. In (a) listed as Frys, Couchman & Collier, 8 Queen St. Since Frys was the senior partner the firm is not correctly listed in (b) as Couchman and Fry.

Harrison, 18 Paternoster Row. So also in (b), where it is noted that Harrison had probably retired by 1785. In (a) the firm is identified as Harrison and Brooke, 35 Paternoster Row—the same address as that given by Mary and Samuel Brooke in 1799 (c).

Millan. Properly McMillan (b, c).

Nicholls. Properly Nichols (a, b, c).

Prat. ? Correctly Pratt (b).

Richardson, Wm., 403 Strand. Not in Pendred, but listed in (a).

Rivington, Charles, 5 Noble St, Foster Lane. ? Address in (a) 14 Staining Lane, Wood St.

Rivington, John, Badger Yard. ? Address in (b) 5 Badger Yard.

Woodfall, William, Corner of Fisher's Alley, Dorset St., Salisbury Square. As determined from Horwood's 1799 map this office is at 62 or, across the Alley, at 63 Dorset Street, an alternative decided by (a), which gives the address as 62 Salisbury Square, Fleet St. In (b) it is identified only as Corner of Dorset Street.

Oddly enough, reference (b), though deriving from the very copy Mr. Pollard reprints, omits some part of the address for Abraham, Adlard, Hart, Jenour, Johnson, Moore, Shaw, Skirven, Walter, Whitworth, and, as already noted, Woodfall.

[p. 55, item 3] Harvard has two copies of a later issue of Stower's 1808 *Guide*, both of the original sheets and title, but in wrappers reading "Second Edition" and dated 1812.

[p. 56, item 4a] A copy of the unreported third edition is in the Bentinck-Smith Typographical Collection at Harvard, bound after the 1787 edition of Smith's *Printer's Grammar*. The title reads:

The Printers' Assistant; Containing . . . A List of Masters, Letter Founders, Printers' Smiths and Joiners, Ink Makers, Wood Engravers, Type Cutters, &c. By William Mason. Third Edition. London: Printed and Sold by W. Mason, 21, Clerkenwell Green: Also, by Simpkin & Marshall, 4, Stationers' Court. 1817.

It will be noted that the author is now identified and that the edition is of a date differing from that given in Wyman. On pp. 28-32 are listed, alphabetically by trade, 260 master printers (including Mason), 8 letter founders, 12 printing ink makers, 11 printers' joiners and press makers, 8 printers' smiths, 4 appraisers and auctioneers (also including Mason), 4 brass border and ornament cutters, 13 engravers on wood, 2 wood letter cutters, and 3 dealers in skins and wool.

[p. 58, item 7e] The Bentinck-Smith Collection has an earlier issue (or edition?) of *Cowie's Printers' Pocket Book and Manual* corresponding throughout to the 7th edition except that title reads: "Pocket-Book . . . Sixth Edition, Enlarged and Improved . . . Lane:" and pages 117-121 list 319 printers. Also unrecorded is a companion to the *Pocket Book* editions with the title "Cowie's Job Master Printers' Price Book," a very useful reference since, unlike the *Pocket Book*, it gives lists for all the auxiliary trades. The Bentinck-Smith copy has "Second Edition" on the printed label and advertises the fifth edition of the *Pocket Book*, an allusion which fixes the issue as *ca.* 1839-1841. On pp. 20-24 are listed, alphabetically by trade, 11 type founders, 8 stereotype founders, 6 copper, brass, and steel plate makers, 3 printers' composition roller makers, 4 printers' joiners, 7 printers' brokers, &c., 13 printers' press makers and joiners, 5 printers' smiths, 22 wood engravers, 118 stationers, and 14 stenographers.

[p. 59, item 10] The annual report for 1840 appears to be identical with the one described as for 1839, and reproduced with notes as document 88 in Howe's *The London Compositor*, pp. 298-302.

[p. 62, item 12] Harvard has an 1820 broadside headed "The Printers' Address to the Queen," the testimonial of a group later identified as

"your Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Letter-Press Printers of London and its Environs." At the foot of this it is noted that the original copy of the address, "engrossed on Parchment, was signed by Thirteen Hundred and Forty-five Members of the Profession," almost twice the number mentioned two years before by Francis Place's anonymous correspondent.

WILLIAM B. TODD

Harvard University

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BOOKS RECEIVED*

- Baughman, Roland, *comp. Exhibition of Books by L. Frank Baum, May 15, 1956*. N. Y., Columbia University Press, 1956. 49 pp. \$2.00.
- Bibliotheca Walleriana; a Catalogue of the Erick Waller Collection*. Compiled by Hans Sallander. 2 v. Stockholm, Almquist & Wiksall, 1956. 200 Swedish kr.
- British Museum. *The Lumley Library; the Catalogue of 1609*. Ed. by Sears Jayne & Frances R. Johnson. London, The Museum, 1956. 372 pp.
- Childs, J. Rives. *Casanoviana; an Annotated World Bibliography of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt and of Works Concerning Him*. Vienna, Christian M. Nebehay, 1956. 396 pp. \$15.00. Edition of 500 copies.
- Schroeder, John W. *The Great Folio of 1623: Shakespeare's Plays in the Printing House*. Hamden, Conn., Shoestring Press, 1956. 125 pp. \$4.25.
- Stern, Madeleine B. *Imprints on History; Book Publishers and American Frontiers*. Bloomington, Indiana University, 1956. 492 pp. \$7.50.
- A Stevenson Library. Catalogue of a Collection . . . Formed by Edwin J. Beinicke*. Comp. by George L. McKay. Vol. Three. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1956.
- Turnbull, Robert J. *Bibliography of South Carolina 1513-1950*. Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, [1956]. Vols. I and II. (5 vols.; \$85 the set.)

* This is a selective list. For books reviewed in 1956, see the annual index in this issue. Lists formerly appeared in the Society's occasional *News Sheet*, now discontinued. Some books scheduled for review in 1957 are not included. *Editor*.

Max N. Gall
Far Western Issue

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FIRST QUARTER, 1956

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A Bibliographical Summary*
CARL I. WHEAT

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JACOB ZEITLIN

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NEAL HARLOW

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DONALD M. POWELL

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ELLEN SHAFFER

Army Field Printing in the New World

EDWIN H. CARPENTER, JR.

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